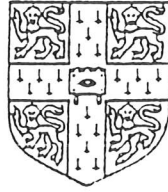


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FABRICATING RADICALISM:  
EPHRAIM PAGITT  
AND  
SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY HERESIOLOGY

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## Fabricating Radicalism:

Ephraim Pagitt and Seventeenth-Century Heresiology

## Abstract

### **Fabricating Radicalism: Ephraim Pagitt and Seventeenth-Century Heresiology**

Many godly polemicists in seventeenth-century England 'fabricated' the religious radicalism which they claimed to describe. This means that many of the heresies in heresy-lists and related polemics (what I have called 'heresiology') were embellished and exaggerated through a variety of verbal and metaphorical strategies. This thesis describes sectarianism as it existed, how that sectarian environment gave rise to the polemical claims which were made in so much heresiology, the extent to which those claims were salacious inventions or polemically advantageous accusations, and precisely how such accusations operated to 'fabricate' religious radicalism.

Chapters One and Two provide primarily historical insights into religious radicalism in seventeenth-century England (and especially London) and the life of the most prolific heresiologist in the period, Ephraim Pagitt (1574-1646). Chapter One includes new research on the only prison for heretics in England, the New Prison, Maiden Lane. This shows how judicial and penal discourse listed and labelled heresies in the same way that heresiology popularised in print. Together with a detailed biography of Pagitt's life in Chapter Two, this permits a broader discussion of heresiological writing in subsequent chapters: Ephraim Pagitt's work provides an exemplary instance of the characteristics and methods of seventeenth-century heresiology.

Chapters Three and Four provide disciplinary insights into seventeenth-century heresiology: they contextualise Pagitt's writings amongst genuinely investigative and scholarly polemics as well as the spurious pamphlets and broadsides which often imitated heresiological techniques to the point of parody. Thomas Edwards, Daniel Featley, Samuel Rutherford, Alexander Ross and innumerable pamphleteers, both anonymous and named, are included as his peers and competitors; patristic heresiology, early scientific taxonomy, nomenclature and natural history are discussed as contexts in which to understand the heresiology of the time.

Chapter Five draws upon the discussion of taxonomy and nomenclature and assumes a linguistic focus: it examines how heresiological labels turned names into things and what kinds of accusation such labels conveyed. Chapter Six, with a literary focus, draws upon a discussion of early natural history and metaphor to examine why some heresiologies appeared to be natural histories of heresy, closely related to bestiaries, and why heresiological metaphors represented sectaries as dangerous beasts rather than as religious zealots.

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This dissertation does not exceed regulation length, including footnotes and references, but excluding the bibliography. It is the result of my own work, and includes nothing which is the outcome of work done in collaboration.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'S. Dyton'.

Simon Dyton, September 2001

## Note on Conventions

I have referred to original editions of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century texts and footnotes will draw attention to instances in which this has not been the case. Words which were printed together in the original type-face have been separated and to reflect the often interchangeable use of v's and u's and i's and j's, I have standardised their use, along with the long 's' and 'vv'. In quotations from both printed and manuscript sources, contractions are expanded, and expansions italicised. In all quotations, the spelling, italicisation and punctuation otherwise remain faithful to the original. I have translated languages myself unless otherwise indicated.

The capitalisation of fonts in early modern titles has been standardised. Greek titles encountered in transliterated form remain transliterated, while those in Cyrillic are faithfully rendered. Hebrew titles have been transliterated. Titles of early modern texts extend until their first natural syntactic stoppage unless a subtitle adds substantially to the title as a whole. This is to give greater detail and consistency than is found in STC or Wing renderings and to preserve a degree of brevity in otherwise prolix titles. Early modern texts are printed in London unless otherwise stated; they have been dated according to the year on the title-page although dates have otherwise been adjusted to a year beginning on January 1st. I have anglicised the place of publication for those texts printed on the continent.

I have standardised modern titles according to the conventions described in the *MHRA Style Book*, 5th edn (London: Modern Humanities Research Association, 1996). After the first citation of a text, the reference is customarily contracted to the author's surname and, where more than work by that author is cited, a shortened version of the title. Standard abbreviations of frequently cited journals are employed. In footnotes, pages which are numbered incorrectly are designated by the *incorrect* page number with the correct page number in square brackets.

## Abbreviations

### • Frequently-cited journals and reference works

<i>CPWJM</i>	John Milton, <i>The Complete Prose Works of John Milton</i> , gen. ed. Don M. Wolfe, 8 vols (New Haven: Yale University, 1953-82).
<i>CSPD</i>	John Bruce and William Douglas Hamilton, eds, <i>Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, Charles I</i> , 22 vols (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1858-1893).
<i>DNB</i>	Sidney Lee and Leslie Stephens, eds, <i>Dictionary of National Biography</i> , 62 vols (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1885-1900).
<i>EHR</i>	<i>English Historical Review</i>
<i>ELR</i>	<i>English Literary Renaissance</i>
<i>HJ</i>	<i>Historical Journal</i>
<i>JBS</i>	<i>Journal of British Studies</i>
<i>JEH</i>	<i>Journal of Ecclesiastical History</i>
<i>JHI</i>	<i>Journal of the History of Ideas</i>
<i>Lords</i>	<i>Journal of the House of Lords</i> , 230 vols (London: n. p., n. d.).
Migne	J. P. Migne, ed., [ <i>Patrologia Latina</i> ] <i>Patrologiae Cursus Completus Sive Bibliotheca, Integra, Uniformis, Commoda, Oeconomica, Omnium SS. Patrum, Doctorum Scriptorumque Ecclesiasticorum Qui ab Aevo Apostolico ad Usque Innocentii III Tempora Floruerunt</i> , 221 vols (Paris: n.p., 1844-64).
<i>MLR</i>	<i>Modern Language Review</i>
<i>OED</i>	J. A. Simpson and E. S. C. Weiner, eds, <i>Oxford English Dictionary</i> , 2nd edn (Oxford: Clarendon, 1989).
<i>OED Online</i>	[as above] <i>Oxford English Dictionary Online</i> (OUP), available at < <a href="http://dictionary.oed.com">http://dictionary.oed.com</a> > (visited 1/8/00-).
<i>Parliamentary History</i>	<i>Parliamentary History of England from the Earliest Period to the Year 1803</i> , 36 vols (London: T. C. Hansard, 1806-20).
<i>P&amp;P</i>	<i>Past and Present</i>
<i>SPD</i>	<i>State Papers, Domestic Series</i> , Public Records Office.



# ABBREVIATIONS

STC A. W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave, eds, and rev. eds F. S. Ferguson, W. A. Jackson and Katharine F. Pantzer, *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, & Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad 1475-1640*, 2nd edn, 2 vols (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1976-86).

TRHS *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*

Wing Donald Wing, ed., rev. eds John J. Morrison, Carolyn W. Nelson and Matthew Seccombe, *Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and British America and of English Books Printed in Other Countries 1641-1700*, 2nd edn, rev. and enl., 4 vols (New York: Modern Language Association of America, 1982-98).

## • Libraries and archives

BL British Library

BodL Bodleian Library

CLRO Corporation of London Records Office

CUL Cambridge University Library

FRC Family Records Centre

LLSA Lewisham Local Studies and Archives, Lewisham Library

LMA London Metropolitan Archives

PRO Public Records Office

## Introduction

Heresiology is the study of heresy. 'Heresy' is derived from the Greek ἁίρεσις, meaning 'choice' or 'thing chosen', and was once attached to the beliefs of Greek philosophical schools. Since the early Church, it has come to mean theological error because Christianity acknowledges only one legitimate belief, itself. 'Heresiology' is derived from the title of one who studies heresy, a 'heresiologist', also known as a 'heresiographer' or one who writes against heresy.<sup>1</sup> Many scholars do not distinguish between 'heresiology' and 'heresiography', but this study argues a difference for several reasons.

'Heresiography' was coined by Ephraim Pagitt in 1645 as the title of his second book. 'Heresiography', therefore, underlines Pagitt's importance in this field and provides a convenient name for what the *OED* defines as '[a] description of, or treatise on, heresy or heretics'.<sup>2</sup> This is faithful to Pagitt's subtitled summary of his text's purpose: *A Description of the Heretickes and Sectaries of these Latter Times*. This thesis, however, uses the more established term 'heresiology' (and 'heresiologist') which is, according to the *OED*, a very similar 'study of, or a treatise on, heresies'.<sup>3</sup> The distinction may seem pedantic but is prompted by a desire for clarity. In the same year as Pagitt coined 'heresiography', Robert Baillie used 'heresiology' to refer to the patristic heresy-lists of Philastrius, Epiphanius and Augustine.<sup>4</sup> I follow Baillie's use of the word because, firstly, it was more current in the seventeenth century than 'heresiography'; secondly, unlike 'heresiography', it does not argue Pagitt's significance by virtue of its etymology; and thirdly, it refers specifically to heresy-lists which are the subject of this study.

Heresy-lists are concerned with cataloguing, compiling and enumerating heresies. Modern scholarship's use of 'heresiography' has come to mean 'writings against heretics' (adequately covered by such terms as religious or anti-sectarian polemic) and has obscured the distinctive character of the heresy-list, a rarely studied genre.<sup>5</sup> Ann Hughes' description of *Heresiography* as 'heresiography proper' does

<sup>1</sup> *OED Online*. <<http://oed.com/cgi/entry/00105160>>

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, <<http://oed.com/cgi/entry/00105159>>

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, <<http://oed.com/cgi/entry/00105160>>

<sup>4</sup> Robert Baillie, *Errours and Induration, are the Great Sins and the Great Judgements of the Time* (1645), A2r.

<sup>5</sup> By arguing this, I am forced to distinguish between 'heresiography' and 'heresiology' in secondary material which does not itself acknowledge a difference. In wider religious writing, 'heresiology' is rightly used by patristic scholars while 'heresiography' is used mainly by scholars (writing in English) of other

not, therefore, clearly indicate whether *Heresiography* is an exemplary seventeenth-century heresy-list or a good example of vitriolic barracking and bluster.<sup>6</sup> This dissertation suggests that heresy-lists and the heresiological emphasis they brought to bear on anti-sectarian writing informed much religious polemic in the mid-seventeenth century. By examining Ephraim Pagitt's heresiology and that of his contemporaries, I hope to uncover much about the polemic of the period which has hitherto gone unnoticed and ignored. So what is heresiology precisely?

An accurate, preliminary definition of heresiology, according to one church historian, is a 'literary genre' which concerns the 'identification, description, and refutation of heresy'.<sup>7</sup> More specific is the definition of heresiology as 'the science of the errors of others'.<sup>8</sup> This draws attention to the empirical focus which much heresiology brings to bear on its subject and its proto-scientific character. Thomas Corns emphasises this when he calls early modern heresy-lists 'a curious subgenre' of religious writing: 'the tendentious extension of the bestiary genre into English political and religious life'.<sup>9</sup>

Yet heresy-lists are more than sectary-stocked bestiaries. I consider 'heresiology' to be a *mode* rather than a genre of writing: it concerns listing, labelling and categorising heresy. It is present in numerous kinds of anti-sectarian writing, from the dense theology-thick prose of Robert Baillie to the vigorous, irreverent satire of John Taylor, the Water Poet. Heretics and, specifically, their heresies are phenomena to be observed, classified (often taxonomically) and named. This suggests that heresiology pushed into secondary importance its function of refutation, but this is not the case. Heresiology's expressly polemical purpose is disguised by only an

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religions, notably Islam, cf. Philip Schaff, *A Religious Encyclopaedia: or Dictionary of Biblical, Historical, Doctrinal, and Practical Theology*, 3 vols (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1882-3), II, p. 976; Epiphanius, *The Panarion of Epiphanius of Salamis*, trans. Frank Williams, 2 vols (New York: E. J. Brill, 1987-94), I, xvi; John B. Henderson, *The Construction of Orthodoxy and Heresy: Neo-Confucian, Islamic, Jewish, and Early Christian Patterns* (New York: State University, 1998), p. 2; Alain Le Boulluec uses 'hérésiologie' and 'hérésiologue' in his magisterial account of early Christian heresy, *La Notion d'Hérésie dans la Littérature Grecque II<sup>e</sup>-III<sup>e</sup> Siècles*, 2 vols (Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1985), passim. A notable exception is Jaap Mansfeld, *Heresiography in Context: Hippolytus Elenchus as a Source for Greek Philosophy* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1992).

<sup>6</sup> Ann Hughes, 'Chapter Four: *Gangraena* and Heresiography', p. 11. This is a chapter from her currently untitled book (Oxford: OUP, forthcoming). I am very grateful to Professor Hughes for allowing me to read this draft chapter.

<sup>7</sup> Henderson, p. 1.

<sup>8</sup> Steven M. Wasserstrom, *Between Muslim and Jew: The Problem of Symbiosis Under Islam* (Princeton: Princeton University, 1995), p. 154. Wasserstrom refers to 'heresiography' but the context of his usage implies a clear equivalence with 'heresiology'.

<sup>9</sup> Thomas N. Corns, *Uncloistered Virtue: English Political Literature, 1640-1660* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1992), p. 128.

*appearance* of scholarly observation and analysis. Rather, the purpose of representing heresy in such a way is to cast a polemically advantageous image of religious radicalism in the objective guise of ordinarily neutral and even early 'scientific' discourse.

Seventeenth-century heresiology's patristic inheritance emphasises the close correspondence between refutation and description. The early Fathers, such as Irenaeus of Lyons, Epiphanius of Salamis and Augustine of Hippo, gathered many heresies in their lengthy catalogues from patristic forebears, personal experiences, sympathetic correspondents, rumours and hearsay. Irenaeus' *Contra Haereses* listed heresies in its first book, while the second was devoted to their refutation. Theodoret's *Haereticorum Fabularum Compendium* consisted of five books, the first four of which listed over fifty heresies. The final book was devoted to a prolix exposition of orthodoxy which was longer than the first four books combined.<sup>10</sup> These lists used the cumulative horror of massed heresies to galvanise early Christians into righteous indignation against their opponents and to make them rigorously scrutinise their own convictions. Thus John B. Henderson correctly calls heresiology 'one of the principal means by which orthodoxy defines, establishes and perpetuates itself'.<sup>11</sup> Early heresiologies were not only remarkably successful in recording what orthodoxy was not, therefore, but vital in constructing what orthodoxy *was*. Irenaeus' *Contra Haereses*, for example, is 'arguably the earliest work of Christian theology'.<sup>12</sup> In this way, heresiology is a *mode* of theological polemic which is distinct from the explicit rebuttal of error, but is inextricably devoted to this end. Beyond this, heresiology is fundamentally and specifically involved in the naming of sects, and the compilation and organisation of those names for polemical effect: lists, classifications, genealogies and taxonomies characterise heresiological writing. Henderson goes on to maintain that heresiology is 'not just so much static to be blocked out so that the heretical thing-in-itself might sound forth in all its pristine purity', but is 'a worthy object of study in its own right'.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Melvin Glenn Cope, 'An Analysis of the Heresiological Method of Theodoret in the "Haereticorum Fabularum Compendium"' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Catholic University of America, 1990), pp. 74-356 (Cope's translation of the *Compendium*).

<sup>11</sup> Henderson, p. 24.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., p. 9.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., p. 24.

This study explores heresiology as it existed in seventeenth-century England. The historical parameters of my enquiry are deliberately vague due to my attention to the patristic and Reformed traditions upon which my subject draws. Ephraim Pagitt is the ostensible focus of the investigation. His *Christianographie* first appeared in 1635 and the final edition of *Heresiography* was printed in 1661 (with a further issue following in 1662). Thus the period straddled by this enquiry includes the Civil War and the Interregnum, though the tracing of literary influences and forbears has meant that adherence to strict parameters is impossible. Equally necessary is the extension of this study beyond Pagitt's work to tomes, tracts, sermons, pamphlets and broadsides: diverse texts whose systematic collection and classification of religious radicalism, like Pagitt's, is sometimes even found to fabricate it.

The 'fabrication' of religious radicalism is a linguistically-driven process in which heresiology embellished, exaggerated and even invented some of the heresies which it claimed to describe. In the past, historians have suggested that early modern atheists, witches, puritans, Ranters, Roman Catholics and parliamentary Independents who supported Presbyterianism were all variously fabricated or invented by modern scholars or hysterical contemporaries.<sup>14</sup> Here, the possible fabrication of religious radicalism is examined. That heresiology fabricated religious radicalism, however, is not a premise of my argument, but a consequence of examining the content and context of heresiological polemic.

Ann Hughes calls heresiology 'a truth-telling genre' which attempts to record heresy accurately but falls victim to contemporary hysteria.<sup>15</sup> Many heresiologists, however, were not interested in the 'truth' about heresy; their accusations against religious radicals had as much to do with polemical expedience as they had with real

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<sup>14</sup> Michael Hunter, 'Science and Heterodoxy: An Early Modern Problem Reconsidered', in David C. Lindberg and Robert S. Wiseman, eds, *Reappraisals of the Scientific Revolution* (Cambridge: CUP, 1990), pp. 437-60; *ibid.*, 'The Problem of Atheism in Early Modern England', *TRHS*, 5th series, 35 (1985), 135-57; Christina Larner, *Enemies of God: The Witch-Hunt in Scotland* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1981); esp. pp. 15-28, pp. 89-102; Stuart Clark, 'Inversion, Misrule and the Meaning of Witchcraft', *P&P*, 87 (1980), 98-127; Elliot P. Currie, 'Crimes Without Criminals: Witchcraft and its Control in Renaissance Europe', *Law and Society Review*, 3 (1968), 7-32; Kai T. Erikson, *Wayward Puritans: A Study in the Sociology of Deviance* (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1966), esp. pp. 3-29, pp. 67-139; Michael G. Finlayson, 'Puritanism and Puritans: Labels or Libels?', *Canadian Journal of History*, 8 (1973), 202-23; *ibid.*, *Historians, Puritanism, and the English Revolution: the Religious Factor in English Politics Before and After the Interregnum* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1983); J. C. Davis, *Fear, Myth and History: The Ranters and the Historians* (Cambridge: CUP, 1986), *passim*; Alexandra Walsham, *Church Papists: Catholics, Conformity and Confessional Polemic in Early Modern England* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, Boydell, 1993), pp. 93-4; Stephen Foster, 'The Presbyterians' Independents Exorcised: A Ghost Story for Historians', *P&P*, 44 (1969), 52-75.



religious heterodoxy. Robert Baillie and James Cranford, for example, orchestrated a whispering campaign against Independent members of Parliament, accusing them of secretly negotiating a peace with Charles I. Cranford was even temporarily imprisoned in the Tower for his role in the affair.<sup>16</sup> Both Cranford and Baillie, like others, extended their interest in politically and polemically valuable untruths to their writings against heretics. It has not gone unnoticed by recent historians that Thomas Edwards' classification of heresy in *Gangraena* was, along with that of other heresy-lists, an artificial imposition upon (and a critical counterweight to) an otherwise frighteningly fluid and often anonymous separatist milieu.<sup>17</sup> Heresiology, like all propaganda, was a slippery mode of writing in which facts or 'truths' were subordinated to polemical advantage. It was 'a truth-telling genre' which did not necessarily tell the truth; it turned religious radicalism into a linguistic construction, a literary fabrication.

This fabrication of 'truth' is Foucauldian in so far as religious radicalism, I am suggesting, was 'fabricated' by the political, religious and social processes, apparatuses and institutions which expressed it.<sup>18</sup> Heresy is a product of the heresiology which described it. I draw upon Foucault's description of subjects as scrutinised, analysed and classified: the leper, the madman, the pathology-ridden patient, the delinquent. Here, seventeenth-century heretics are examined in a similar light: heresiology is a means of constructing the heretic just as psychology constructs the madman and pathology the patient. As Foucault historicises categories of knowledge in order to turn a 'why' or a 'who' into a 'how', I hope to recover the methodological 'how' of seventeenth-century heresiology as a discursive context in which heresy was embellished, elaborated and, at times, fabricated. My Foucauldian interpretation of heresiological discourse, however, takes the same 'linguistic turn' as some modern analytical philosophy which not only locates 'truth' in language, but meaning as well. This Foucauldian and, I will suggest, Wittgensteinian perspective

<sup>15</sup> Ann Hughes, 'Thomas Edwards' *Gangraena* and Heresiological Traditions', paper for the eighth Seventeenth-Century Studies Conference, Durham University, 26th July 1999, p. 18. I am very grateful to Professor Hughes for providing me with a copy of this paper.

<sup>16</sup> Robert Baillie, *The Letters and Journals of Robert Baillie*, ed. David Laing, 3 vols (Edinburgh: Alexander Lawrie & Co., 1841-2), II, pp. 279-86; Valerie Pearl, 'London Puritans and Scotch Fifth Columnists: A Mid-Seventeenth Century Phenomenon', in A. E. J. Hollaender and W. Kellaway, eds, *Studies in London History Presented to P. E. Jones* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1969), pp. 317-31, pp. 317-321, p. 324.

<sup>17</sup> Kristen Poole, *Radical Religion from Shakespeare to Milton: Figures of Nonconformity in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: CUP, 2000), pp. 114-8; Jonathan Scott, *England's Troubles: Seventeenth-Century English Political Instability in European Context* (Cambridge: CUP, 2000), p. 238.

<sup>18</sup> Michel Foucault, 'Truth and Power', in Paul Rabinow, ed., *The Foucault Reader: An Introduction to Foucault's Thought* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1991; first published 1984), pp. 51-75, *passim*.

informs my interpretation of heresiology's ability to elaborate, exaggerate and even to fabricate the sectarian milieu it described.

My understanding of 'radicalism' as heresy, the etymological subject of heresiology, also requires prompt definition. Radicalism includes not only sectarianism but popery, both of which were the subversive and hostile forces which members of the godly in mid-seventeenth-century England identified as inimical to the Protestant cause. Roman Catholics were often accused of treason, for example, since their loyalty was to the Pope rather than to their country: one legal handbook stated that Roman Catholics 'did justly deserve their capital punishments as traitors, though they were not apprehended with open armour or weapon'.<sup>19</sup> Roman Catholicism was not understood as 'an alternative, or even as an aberrant, form of Christianity [but] a total and blasphemous perversion of apostolic practice'.<sup>20</sup> In so far as it was identified, in the words of Jonathan Scott, as 'that...counter-reformation design for the extirpation of protestantism', it was seen to be in hostile opposition to the English Church.<sup>21</sup> In this respect, it was little more than a sect: 'In the post-Reformation period at least', writes Alexandra Walsham, 'English Catholicism sits uneasily in the mould of a fully segregated and seigneurial sect'.<sup>22</sup> In the second edition of *Heresiography*, Pagitt described Roman Catholicism as 'that Sect' led by that 'Hereticke', the Pope, and categorised papists alongside sectaries, with whom he compared them.<sup>23</sup> Though a sectary belonged to a sect (specifically, an act of ecclesiastical disobedience) and a heretic maintained a heresy (specifically, a doctrinal error), both terms commonly accompanied one another in titles such as Pagitt's own *Heresiography; or, A Description of the Heretickes and Sectaries of These Latter Times*.

That being a 'Hereticke' was a term of abuse renders a specific definition of 'heresy' of little use. A contemporary theological dictionary claimed quite clearly that a 'Hereticke' held, firstly, 'an error about some Article of Christian Faith'; secondly,

<sup>19</sup> William Cecil, *The Execution of Justice in England*, ed. Robert M. Kingdom (New York: Cornell University, 1965; first published 1583), pp. 2-41, p. 39.

<sup>20</sup> Robin Clifton, 'Fear of Popery', in Conrad Russell, ed., *The Origins of the English Civil War* (London: Macmillan, 1973), pp. 144-67, p. 146; Carol Z. Wiener, 'The Beleagured Isle: A Study of Elizabethan and Early Jacobean Anti-Catholicism', *P&P*, 51 (1971), 27-62, *passim*.

<sup>21</sup> Scott, p. 130.

<sup>22</sup> Walsham, p. 94.

<sup>23</sup> Ephraim Pagitt, *Christianographie, or The Description of the Multitude and Sundry Sorts of Christians in the World not Subject to the Pope*, 1st edn (1635), I, A3<sup>v</sup>, a4<sup>v</sup>. See figure 1 (pp. 61-2) for an account of *Christianographie*'s irregular pagination; *ibid.*, *Heresiography; or, A Description of the Heretickes and Sectaries of these Latter Times*, 2nd edn (1645), pp. 143-54. Due to the expansion of Pagitt's texts, the earliest edition of a text will be given in which a cited quotation appears.

an error which was 'contrary to the evidence and cleare truth of holy Scripture, soundlie and generally held by the holy Catholike Church of God'; and thirdly, this error was held 'stoutly and obstinately...after conviction, and lawfull admonition'.<sup>24</sup> But what might be considered 'Christian Faith', 'evidence and cleare truth', 'the holy Catholike Church of God' and 'lawfull admonition' changed according to one's own or one's opponents' religious denomination. Recent work by several historians problematises denominational and often derogatory labels, such as Protestant, Catholic, Arminian and Laudian, by showing just how slippery and relative such terms were when religious and ecclesiastical contexts changed, competed or collapsed.<sup>25</sup> So it is unsurprising to find that even during this period, such labels are considered to be what one author called 'Theological scar crows [sic]' and 'ridiculous tearmes', though 'the things in themselves are of very considerable moment'.<sup>26</sup>

This study concerns those 'ridiculous tearmes' which describe the radical fringe of the period rather than the broad and amorphous ideologies, such as Protestantism and Catholicism, which have elicited so much historiographical debate. In examining these 'ridiculous tearmes', moreover, this study does not deny the reality of or the ideological and theological influences upon this radical fringe. Paul's admonitions against 'the law' in Romans and Galatians, Luther's declarations of 'free grace', Calvin's talk of 'unconditional election', as well as Joachim of Fiore, Jacob Boehme and maybe even early Christian Gnosticism influenced very real religious radicals.<sup>27</sup> The subject of this study is not primarily 'the things in themselves' but the 'scar crows' with which writers made sense of, described and denounced what they considered to be heresy: in short, the names by which radicalism was known, and the lists in which those names were compiled.

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It is necessary to discuss the limited historiography of heresiology to first align this study. Heresiology has been largely ignored as a topic of study by historians for

<sup>24</sup> Thomas Wilson, *A Christian Dictionarie* (1612), p. 235.

<sup>25</sup> Peter Lake and Michael Questier, eds, *Conformity and Orthodoxy in the English Church, c. 1560-1660* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell, 2000), passim.

<sup>26</sup> John Hales, *A Tract Concerning Schisme and Schismatiques* (1642), p. 1.

<sup>27</sup> For the latter, see Simon Dyton, 'The Ranters: A Genealogy of Heresy' (unpublished M. Phil. thesis, University of Cambridge, 1998), passim.



one very surprising reason: they have all too often identified heresiologists as members of their own tribe. 'Dr. E. Pagitt', for example, is cited as a 'historian' by one author who seems unaware of Pagitt's expressly polemical career.<sup>28</sup> Indeed, historians often fall victim to heresiology's appearance of scholarly neutrality, confusing 'scar crows' for the heretical thing-in-itself, or names for things. While it is true to say that heresiologists were trying to understand and interpret religious radicalism, they were also engaged in making some of the enemies which they so vigorously denounced. Though Christopher Hill wisely suggests that '[w]e need not accept the alarmist accounts of professional heresy-hunters like Edwards, Baillie, Rutherford, Pagitt, Ross and several more', they nevertheless influenced him deeply.<sup>29</sup> This is why recent historians accuse the likes of Hill in *The World Turned Upside Down* and A. L. Morton in *The World of the Ranters* of founding their views of radicalism upon the denominationally-distinct classifications of 'sects' which were imposed upon the radical milieu by the likes of Pagitt and Edwards.<sup>30</sup> Other historians fall victim to the wholesale exaggeration and fabrication of religious radicalism.

Though the fabrication of radicalism may be a methodological extreme of the heresiological project, it is certainly the sharp edge against which scholars have had the integrity of their scholarship shredded. Norman Cohn is one example. Cohn suggests that 'we can know nothing of the real beliefs of [the Ranters] since our information comes from their enemies'.<sup>31</sup> Yet he ignores his own advice: 'there are no grounds for doubting' Thomas Edwards' claims in *Gangraena*; John Holland gave 'an impression of entire trustworthiness'; Humphrey Ellis' account of the messianic antics of William Franklin and Mary Gadbury was 'wholly reliable'.<sup>32</sup> Though these men *did* attempt to qualify their claims by using witnesses and acquaintances, corroborating information, court depositions and records of judicial proceedings, such inclusions *developed* the accusations which they supported. Humphrey Ellis, for example, nevertheless considered sectaries to be diminutive Antichrists roaming the English

<sup>28</sup> Anon, *The Real St. Patrick's Day*, available at <<http://www.champs-of-truth.com/books/patrick.htm>> (visited 27/3/01).

<sup>29</sup> Christopher Hill, 'Irreligion in the "Puritan" Revolution', in *ibid.*, *The Collected Essays of Christopher Hill: Volume Two, Religion and Politics in Seventeenth Century England* (Sussex: Harvester, 1986), pp. 191-211, p. 206.

<sup>30</sup> Thomas N. Corns, 'Milton's Quest for Respectability', *MLR*, 77 (1982), 769-779, p. 770; Poole, *Radical Religion*, p. 119; Scott, p. 237.

<sup>31</sup> Norman Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium: Revolutionary Millenarians and Mystical Anarchists of the Middle Ages*, rev. ed. (London: Pimlico, 1993; first published 1957), p. 289.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 292, p. 294, p. 301.

countryside.<sup>33</sup> Cohn correctly identifies many anti-Ranter pamphlets as 'journalistic sallies of the most fanciful and scurrilous kind', but suggests that Timothy Stubbs' anti-Ranter pamphlet, *The Ranters Declaration*, 'throws considerable light both on the social composition and on the social doctrine of the movement'.<sup>34</sup> This pamphlet was as spurious as they got, describing two debauched Ranter meetings (one of which was lifted from the equally scandalous *Ranters Religion*), a Ranter 'Christmas Gambel', a peculiar story about the Behmenist Rector of Bradfield, John Pordage (involving Pordage, his wife, two other women, some hay and three flower-pots), and a Ranters' prayer which Ranters allegedly attempted to ratify at a Ranters' Parliament. Whilst these sources do have value, they are evidently not as sociologically or historically valuable as Cohn would have his readers believe.

In fact, such ingenuousness has recently brought about a widespread dispute over the names by which religious radicalism was known. One commentator calls this 'a new version of logical positivism...whereby, it is argued, we will not understand what we are talking about unless we use precisely the right words to denote it, and those must be only the words that are available or applicable at the time of the events in question'.<sup>35</sup> Reasons for this trend include the destabilising influence of postmodernist theories of language and the decline of history as a fact-concerned, objective discipline. But the real momentum behind this trend has been the urge to discover what really happened.

J. C. Davis illustrates this point well. He claims to prefer 'a broad, and perhaps vague definition of radicalism' which, he goes on to suggest, allows the study of the past's 'substance' rather than its empty 'form'.<sup>36</sup> In *Fear, Myth and History: The Ranters and the Historians*, he scrutinises the content of the sectarian label 'Ranter' and the legitimacy of the label itself to illustrate the inadequacy of labels and imposed denominations. Davis reacts against those historians who he considers to have succumbed to one specifically heresiological illusion, the 'projection' or 'myth' of the

<sup>33</sup> Humphrey Ellis, *Pseudochristus: or, A True and Faithful Relation of the Grand Impostures, Abominable Practises, Horrid Blasphemies, Gross Deceits; Lately Spread Abroad and Acted in the County of Southampton*, by William Franklin and Mary Gadbury, and their Companions (1650), p. 62.

<sup>34</sup> Cohn, *Pursuit*, p. 299, p. 303.

<sup>35</sup> Annabel Patterson, 'The Very Name of the Game: Theories of Order and Disorder', in Thomas Healy and Jonathan Sawday, eds, *Literature and the English Civil War* (Cambridge: CUP, 1990), pp. 21-37, p. 22.

<sup>36</sup> J. C. Davis, 'Radicalism in a Traditional Society: The Evaluation of Radical Thought in the English Commonwealth 1649-1660', *History of Political Thought*, 3 (1982), 193-213, p. 203; *ibid.*, 'Puritanism and Revolution: Themes, Categories, Methods and Conclusion', *HJ*, 34 (1991), 479-90, p. 490; *ibid.*, 'Against Formality: One Aspect of the English Revolution', *TRHS*, 6th series, 3 (1993), 265-88, *passim*.

Ranters as a denominationally-distinct sect. For Davis, the likes of A. L. Morton and Christopher Hill are not guilty of genuine naiveté but sought to invent the Ranters for their own ideological purposes. They allegedly sought to give weight and character to popular radicals of the seventeenth century in accordance with the aims of the Communist Party Historians' Group, of which, Davis claims, they were both once members.<sup>37</sup> Davis previously argued that '[w]e should be able to look at Ranters, Fifth Monarchists, Muggletonians, as we look at magic and astrology or even early modern science, without feeling it necessary to justify our interest in them in terms of some long-term success story'.<sup>38</sup> The Ranters, Davis argues, were 'a projection reflecting contemporary anxieties and the desire for moral boundaries and conformity'.<sup>39</sup> He attacks those 'sympathetic historians', Morton and Hill, for unfurling a radical sect out of a radical label, for constructing a 'Ranter core' of beliefs which his own work 'shatters and disintegrates'.<sup>40</sup> Davis concludes that 'the Ranters were no more than a mythic projection, in the wake of which some hapless victims were swept up, labelled and sectarianised'.<sup>41</sup> He was duly attacked by a barrage of hostile responses but, crucially, this debate breaks open the significance of heresiological writing and the importance of its study.<sup>42</sup>

Davis' critics concentrated upon affirming the Ranters' existence and denouncing Davis himself. J. P. Thompson calls his thesis 'silly and unnecessary', a 'weakling kitten of the imagination'.<sup>43</sup> Christopher Hill suggests that Davis 'does not like seventeenth-century radicals'.<sup>44</sup> But in their dismissal of Davis, his opponents fail to discuss the 'hack journalists' of the time who wrote so much of the evidence upon which he relies. Indeed, Davis' critics are often too concerned with demolishing his position to appreciate the role of religious polemic and heresiology in it. '[S]ectarian

<sup>37</sup> Davis, *Fear, Myth and History*, p. 2, p. 130; Harvey J. Kaye, *The British Marxist Historians: An Introductory Analysis* (Cambridge: Polity, 1984), pp. 101-2; Bill Schwarz, "'The People" in History: The Communist Party Historians' Group, 1946-56', in Richard Johnson et al, eds, *Making Histories: Studies in History - Writing and Politics* (London: Hutchinson, 1982), pp. 44-95.

<sup>38</sup> Davis, 'Radicalism', pp. 194-5.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., *Fear, Myth and History*, p. 95.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., p. 75.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., p. 126.

<sup>42</sup> J. P. Thompson, 'Review: *Fear, Myth and History: The Ranters and the Historians*', *The London Review of Books*, 9th July 1987, pp. 9-10; G.E. Aylmer, 'Did the Ranters Exist?', *P&P*, 117 (1987), 208-219; Christopher Hill, 'The Lost Ranters? A critique of J.C. Davis', *History Workshop*, 24 (1987), 134-40; *ibid.*, 'Abolishing the Ranters', in *ibid.*, *A Nation of Change and Novelty: Radical Politics, Religion, and Literature in Seventeenth-Century England*, (London: Routledge, 1990), pp. 152-94; Bernard Capp et al, 'Debate: Fear, Myth and Furore: Reappraising the "Ranters"', *P&P*, 140 (1993), 155-210; J. C. Davis, 'Fear, Myth and Furore: Reappraising the "Ranters"', *P&P*, 129 (1990), 79-103.

<sup>43</sup> Thompson, 'Review', p. 9.

labelling is in origin the approach of the enemies of religious enthusiasm,' Davis writes, 'of the heresiographers and the interests which their sociological imperatives represented'.<sup>45</sup> Thus the most intriguing element of Davis' argument is the weight which he attaches to hysterical pamphleteers and vociferous polemicists. Only Thomas Corns suggests that Davis' work points to 'questions about the production of hostile mythologies' and, after the rollicking which Davis received by so many eminent historians, this area has remained largely unexplored.<sup>46</sup> It is into this territory that my examination of seventeenth-century heresiology moves.

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Though heresiology's critical heritage is rather sparse, an inspection of current trends in historical scholarship emphasises the momentum as well as the need for its investigation: namely, much early modern historical scholarship is moving away from the study of heretics and towards the study of their persecution and the religious polemics against them. In this, histories of early modern heresy lag far behind early church histories whose primary sources of evidence have long been patristic heresy-lists. This study redresses the balance.

Peter Biller has mapped out in medieval studies the 'historiography of heresy'.<sup>47</sup> A clear pattern emerges. In the 1950s, scholars following A. P. Evans attempted to 'set heresy in a material, concrete, tangible world'.<sup>48</sup> In the 1970s, however, the publication of books by R. E. Lerner, Norman Cohn and R. I. Moore all shifted the study of heresy towards a 'concern...with knowledge, and, more narrowly, the distorted *image* of a phenomenon'.<sup>49</sup> Biller is quite right to point out how 'the distorted *image* of a phenomenon' became the focus of these works. Lerner describes the heresy of the Free Spirit in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries 'as it *appeared* in its own age' and suggests that 'the Middle Ages [was] a golden period of

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<sup>44</sup> Hill, 'The Lost Ranters?', p. 139.

<sup>45</sup> Davis, 'Fear, Myth and Furore', p. 90.

<sup>46</sup> Corns, *Uncloistered Virtue*, p. 176.

<sup>47</sup> Peter Biller, 'Heresy and Literacy: Earlier History', in Peter Biller and Anne Hudson, eds, *Heresy and Literacy, 1000-1530* (Cambridge: CUP, 1994), pp. 1-18.

<sup>48</sup> See Austin P. Evans and Walter L. Wakefield, *Heresies of the High Middle Ages* (New York: Columbia University, 1969). This is a collection of sources and documents, most of which illustrate the nature of popular heresy with a smaller number devoted to the social context of medieval heresy and inquisitorial procedures.

<sup>49</sup> Biller, p. 16.

exaggeration and fabrication'.<sup>50</sup> Treating the same period, Cohn shows how the stereotype of the witch was a motley collage of myths and misunderstandings, many of which were also applied to heretics such as the Vaudois.<sup>51</sup> Moore examines the way in which monastic chroniclers, fervent inquisitors and an argumentative clergy elaborated upon more simple images of heretics by identifying them with each other, with extinct heresies and with the diseased and the ill, especially lepers.<sup>52</sup>

Rather than studying such distorted images, modern scholarship examines the distorters themselves. Euan Cameron observes that 'we must analyse the motives of churchmen as well as of heretics' and that it 'helps to show who persecuted heretics, in what ways, and why'.<sup>53</sup> He offers some valuable insights into the clergy's own methods though David Bagchi offers more still. Bagchi provides a detailed analysis of the immediate Roman Catholic response to Luther's 95 theses and, in a more recent article, acknowledges that a historian's search for 'real heretics' often meets with only 'the constructions of overenthusiastic inquisitors'.<sup>54</sup>

Such scholarship is limited to earlier heresy - the sixteenth century at the latest - and seventeenth-century heresiology is only starting to slide under the historians' gaze. Ann Hughes' work on Thomas Edwards, the Presbyterian zealot and author of *Gangraena*, is soon to be published.<sup>55</sup> This joins a book-length study of Samuel Rutherford, the prolific Presbyterian opponent of toleration.<sup>56</sup> A doctoral thesis on Alexander Ross, the only seventeenth-century 'heresiologist' recorded in John Henry Blunt's compendious dictionary of religious radicalism, was also completed recently.<sup>57</sup>

<sup>50</sup> R. E. Lerner, *The Heresy of the Free Spirit in the Later Middle Ages* (Berkeley: University of California, 1972), p. 3, my emphasis, p. 4, *passim*.

<sup>51</sup> Norman Cohn, *Europe's Inner Demons: An Enquiry Inspired by the Great Witch-Hunt* (London: Heinemann, 1975), *passim*.

<sup>52</sup> R. I. Moore, *The Origins of European Dissent* (London: Allen Lane, 1977), pp. 243-62, *passim*.

<sup>53</sup> Euan Cameron, *The Reformation of the Heretics: The Waldenses of the Alps 1480-1580* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1984), p. 3.

<sup>54</sup> David V. N. Bagchi, *Luther's Earliest Opponents: Catholic Controversialists, 1518-1525* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991), *passim*; *ibid.*, 'Tyndale, More and the Anatomy of Heresy', *Reformation*, 2 (1997), 261-81, p. 261.

<sup>55</sup> Ann Hughes is hoping to soon complete the draft of her book on Thomas Edwards; Ann Hughes, '"Popular" Presbyterianism in the 1640s and 1650s: the cases of Thomas Edwards and Thomas Hall', in Nicholas Tyacke, ed., *England's Long Reformation 1500-1700* (London: UCL, 1998), pp. 235-59; A. L. Morton argued that 'it is important to try to estimate the value of Edwards' work as evidence' as long ago as 1970 in *The World of the Ranters: Religious Radicalism in the English Revolution* (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1970), p. 24.

<sup>56</sup> John Coffey, *Politics, Religion and the British Revolutions: the Mind of Samuel Rutherford* (Cambridge: CUP, 1997); *ibid.*, 'Samuel Rutherford (c.1600-61) and the British Revolution' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Cambridge, 1995).

<sup>57</sup> John Henry Blunt, *Dictionary of Sects, Heresies, Ecclesiastical Parties, and Schools of Religious Thought* (London: Rivingtons, 1874), p. 186; Malcolm Briggs, 'Alexander Ross (1591-1654): Life and Work' (unpublished



Daniel Featley features in articles by Anthony Milton and Thomas Corns.<sup>58</sup> Peter Lake recently completed a detailed examination of the dispute between Stephen Denison, a puritan minister, and a box-maker, one John Etherington, amidst the religious turbulence of 1630s London. He examines 'the identities they constructed both for themselves and for one another through the processes of name calling' and finds 'clear marks of fabrication and exaggeration' in Denison's construction of Etherington's allegedly heretical position.<sup>59</sup> This book joins a recent doctoral dissertation on the London puritan 'underground' by David Como with whom Lake collaborated in several articles.<sup>60</sup> A recent article by Kathryn Gucer examines how 'pamphleteers invented a linguistic means of talking about religious diversity' by 'attaching characteristic words and behaviors [sic] to them in print'.<sup>61</sup> The historiographical momentum for an examination of heresiology and heresiological naming, whose authors and immediate context are now drawing academic attention, emphasises the pertinence of this study.

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The structure of this dissertation is three-fold: the first two chapters have a historical emphasis, examining the sectarian milieu with which Pagitt was familiar and the life of Pagitt himself; chapters three and four examine heresiology from literary and intellectual perspectives, establishing it as a mode of writing and a discipline in its own right; chapters five and six investigate the language of heresiology, providing the substance to my contention that heresiology is capable of fabricating religious radicalism. A precise description of these chapters sketches this argument in more detail.

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Ph.D. thesis, University of Hertfordshire, 2001). I am very grateful to Dr Briggs for allowing me to read a manuscript copy of his thesis.

<sup>58</sup> Anthony Milton, 'Licensing, Censorship, and Religious Orthodoxy in Early Stuart England', *HJ*, 41 (1998), 625-61; Thomas N. Corns, 'Milton's Quest', 769-779.

<sup>59</sup> Peter Lake, *The Boxmaker's Revenge: Orthodoxy, Heterodoxy and the Politics of the Parish in Early Stuart London* (Manchester: Manchester University, 2001), p. 5, p. 98.

<sup>60</sup> David Como, 'Puritans and Heretics: The Emergence of an Antinomian Underground in Early Stuart England' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Princeton, 1999); Peter Lake and David Como, 'Puritans, Antinomians and Laudians in Caroline London: The Strange Case of Peter Shaw and its Contexts', *JEH*, 50 (1999), pp. 684-715; *ibid.*, "'Orthodoxy" and its Discontents: Dispute Settlement and the Production of "Consensus" in the London (Puritan) Underground', *JBS*, 39 (2000), 34-70.

<sup>61</sup> Kathryn Gucer, "'Not Heretofore Extant in Print": Where the Mad Ranters Are', *JHI*, 61 (2000), 75-95, pp. 75-6.

The opening chapter, 'Pagitt's World: "The plague of Heresie is among us"', is intended to provide a survey of the religious radicals whose embellished, exaggerated caricatures the remainder of this dissertation describes. It establishes a contextual bench-mark against which a heresiologically-contrived image of heresy may be compared and out of which it can be seen to emerge. Heresy is described as the radical threat as Pagitt would have recognised it: internationally, in London, and on Lombard Street where Pagitt himself lived. To examine conceptions of heresy itself, I examine officialdom's prosecution of it in the High Commission Court and the imprisonment of heretics in a recently-rediscovered heretics' prison known as the New Prison, Maiden Lane. This research not only engages with Foucault in so far as it is informed by his philosophy of confinement and correction, but provides an insight into the frequency and function of name-calling and heresiological fabrication in carceral and judicial contexts. This chapter not only describes the 'reality' of heresy, but argues the breadth and presence of those labelling processes which heresy-lists so effectively develop and exemplify.

The second chapter, 'Ephraim Pagitt: Home, Hearth, and Heresiology', investigates Ephraim Pagitt in order to look at why he wrote what he did about religious radicalism. Pagitt is central to this study only in so far as his work typifies much early modern heresiology in terms of content, style and function. A biographical account of his life and an interpretation of his political and theological beliefs reveal an intensely conservative individual who might be described as an 'Old Protestant'. It is a measure of his conservatism that he combated religious toleration and the gradual secularisation of society by adopting and embodying a tradition of writing defined by its patristic origins, and against which he must be read, compared and understood.

The third chapter, 'Defining Heresiology: *Christianographie* and *Heresiography*', examines Pagitt's writings. These were reprinted with exceptional rapidity and enlarged with sometimes vulgar gusto throughout the mid-seventeenth century. *Christianographie* (1635) was followed a decade later by an extant sermon, *The Mystical Wolfe* (1645), which provided the material for *Heresiography* (1645). *Christianographie* went through three editions and *Heresiography* six, as well as numerous additional issues. Having examined the heresiological strategies evident in these texts, I locate them amongst others of their kind and discuss the dynamics of labelling and classification which they demonstrate.

Chapter Four, 'Towards a Science of Fabrication', shifts attention away from Pagitt and towards the 'scientific' practices which seventeenth-century heresiology demonstrates and the intellectual contexts upon which it draws. Defined by 'a heresiological heritage', heresiology is able to assume the status of an early 'scientific' discipline as well as a mode of writing. By employing taxonomic practices, such as universal language theory and early natural history, heresiology presents itself as 'a truth-telling strategy' which, due to its polemical function, often fails to tell the truth.

Chapter Five, 'Heresiological Nomenclature: The Linguistic Fabrication of Radicalism', describes how sectarian labels embellish, exaggerate and sometimes even fabricate the heresies they purport to describe. Sectarian labels accomplish this by conveying specific associations and accusations as part of their verbal substance and imaginative impact. Thus accusations are supported and even corroborated by the language in which they are made, and the names of the sects to which they are applied. Heretically-coloured verbs, adjectives and adverbs knit together to depict sectarian antics in a sectarianising language in which religious radicalism exists more tangibly and powerfully than in the reality which heresiologists claimed to describe. Heretical categories and labels are more numerous than the heretics themselves, suggesting that heresiology combats a spectre of its own making.

The final chapter, 'A Natural History of Heresy: The Metaphorical Fabrication of Radicalism', explores the fabrication of radicalism through heresiology's kinship with early natural history. This lies behind seventeenth-century heresiology's affinity with bestiaries and draws upon the animal metaphors which characterise much religious polemic in the period. Yet the copious detail and taxonomic context of many metaphors point to a more complex foundation in early natural history. I will suggest that metaphor consists in the manipulation of categories in order to make conceivable the impossible. Animal metaphors, derived from the Bible and early natural history, operate in conjunction with taxonomy to identify animals with heretics and, through sustained and detailed comparisons, turn heretics into animals.

By examining heresiology in this way, I hope to determine the significance of heresiology as a mode of seventeenth-century religious polemic and the extent to which religious radicalism was exaggerated and even fabricated. Indeed, I hope to reveal as much about the godly as the ungodly and to explore not *what* heresy was but *how* it was represented. Exploiting popular prejudices and anxieties, the carefully



## INTRODUCTION

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**Pagitt's World: 'The plague of Heresie is among us'**<sup>1</sup>

Seventeenth-century puritans often considered their worlds to be riddled with papists and sectaries. Wallington's world, described in the book of the same name and from which this chapter gains its title, is only one example.<sup>2</sup> But such anxieties were not limited to puritans. In December 1641, Bishop Joseph Hall lamented England's plight, with 'Papists on the one side, and Schismaticks on the other'.<sup>3</sup> Ephraim Pagitt expressed his similar concerns in *Christianographie* and *Heresiography*. These texts were devoted to describing and defeating the threat of irreligion which both popery and radical Protestantism posed. It is the purpose of this chapter to explore the 'reality' of these threats and to describe how they were perceived by men such as Pagitt, and by Pagitt in particular, before I turn to their linguistic, literary and mythopoeic fabrication in subsequent chapters.

In this chapter, I wish to establish a contextual bench-mark against which exaggerated and embellished images of heresy may be seen. This counters the suggestion that my work discovers only 'fabricated radicalism' because it examines only radicalism's fabricated image. This chapter does not discuss how heretical theologies operated but attempts to describe how many radicals existed and what they really believed. But in examining heresy *as it existed* (in so far as this is possible), it becomes evident that fabricated religious radicalism is inextricably linked to the extant judicial and penal records which seem to describe impartially the trials and confinement of religious radicals. In addition to describing the reality of the threats posed by popery and sectarianism, therefore, this chapter shows how deeply embedded heresiological strategies of listing and labelling were in contemporary theological dispute and judicial and penal process. I hope to show that the fabrication of religious radicalism flowed out of this environment which, at the same time, can be recovered sufficiently to illustrate the extent of that fabrication. One must also remember that many of the other documentary sources used to construct a 'realistic' image of heresy, such as hostile polemics and godly protestations, were also involved

<sup>1</sup> Ephraim Pagitt, *The Mystical Wolfe* (1645), p. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Paul S. Seaver, *Wallington's World: A Puritan Artisan in Seventeenth-Century London* (London: Methuen, 1985), *passim*.

<sup>3</sup> *Parliamentary History*, II, p. 989.

in the fabrication of religious radicalism. This is less a methodological assumption than a necessary premise, and caution must be exercised.

The perspective from which Pagitt's world will be described is that of Pagitt himself. His uncompromisingly Protestant world was witnessing, on the one hand, an increasingly hysterical reaction against Roman Catholicism and, on the other, a progressively more indignant and concerted response to the radicalisation of Protestantism. This chapter attempts to construct a more accurate picture of Pagitt's anxieties than this by concentrating upon the increasing immediacy of the radical threat as it surrounded the minister of St Edmund the King. Beyond England, Pagitt surveyed a world which was predominantly Roman Catholic. Europe itself was a contested battleground over which Protestants and papists fought in the Thirty Years' War. Closer to home, Rome was insinuating herself into the English court through a popish Queen. The King himself was suspected of Roman Catholic sympathies. Many felt England was overrun by sectaries, many of whom had come from separatist congregations on the continent. Pagitt himself encountered many such separatists in London, and some on Lombard Street itself. These concentric rings form the diabolical tide of irreligion which Pagitt saw sweeping towards him, and the structure of the first half of this chapter. The latter half of the chapter explores how officialdom dealt with this tide of heterodoxy. This permits a description of several heretics in person by examining recently rediscovered trial records and details of a prison for heretics, the New Prison, Maiden Lane. This change of perspective serves to illustrate the operation of heresiological strategies in the High Commission Court and the New Prison, suggesting how widespread heresiological name-calling was amidst the very real religious turbulence of seventeenth-century London.

### **Heresy Abroad: The World**

Jonathan Scott has recently remarked that 'the seventeenth-century English fear of popery...is inexplicable in a purely national context'.<sup>4</sup> It is therefore necessary to describe the international context to which *Christianographie* was a militant Protestant response. Its full subtitle is a *Description of the Multitude and Sundry Sorts of Christians in the World not Subject to the Pope. With their Unitie, and How*

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<sup>4</sup> Scott, p. 29.

*They Agree With Us in the Principall Points of Difference Betweene Us and the Church of Rome.*<sup>5</sup> Such a claim certainly enlarged the spread and scope of reformed Christianity beyond the political and religious realities which Pagitt faced.

This is because most of the world, by the 1630s, was under Roman Catholic influence. The Treaty of Tordesillas, signed in 1494 between Spain and Portugal, divided the world quite literally in half: a line was drawn, running from the North to the South Pole and lying 270 leagues to the west of the Azores. Everything on the west side of it belonged to Catholic Spain, and everything on the east to Catholic Portugal. Though the eastern religions were far more difficult to Christianise than those of the Americas, Jesuit missionaries met with limited success even in China, establishing the first Catholic Church there in 1599. When Protestant missionaries attempted to proselytise, in the words of one historian, they were invariably 'repulsed by entrenched Catholicism or overthrown'.<sup>6</sup> Roman Catholicism was *catholicus*, universal.

Pagitt's construction of a formidably Protestant world in *Christianographie* was more immediately prompted by the Thirty Years' War and the threat of reformed Christianity's extirpation on the continent. The conflict released tensions that had as much to do with religion as they did with territorial and economic dominance. James I's reluctance to fight forced many to fear Protestantism's extinction which, coupled with his support for his son's marriage to the Spanish Infanta, 'seemed to presage the tolerance, if not the triumph, of Catholicism at home' as well as abroad.<sup>7</sup> When Charles became King, his flirtation with the conflict did little to soothe Protestant anxieties. Rome was eventually forced to recognise the religious independence of Lutherans and Calvinists but Protestantism was much weakened. Between 1590 and 1690, Protestant Europe shrank from a half to a fifth of the continent.<sup>8</sup> Protestantism's ailing fortunes were much publicised in England in newsbooks which,

<sup>5</sup> Pagitt, *Christianographie*, 1st edn, I, A1'.

<sup>6</sup> G. V. Scammell, *The World Encompassed: The First European Maritime Empires c. 800-1650* (London: Methuen, 1981), p. 414, passim; David Arnold, *The Age of Discovery 1400-1600* (London: Methuen, 1983), passim; Owen Chadwick, *The Reformation* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1990; first published 1964), pp. 321-47.

<sup>7</sup> Kenneth Fincham and Peter Lake, 'The Ecclesiastical Policy of King James I', *JBS*, 24 (1985), 169-207, p. 198.

<sup>8</sup> Scott, pp. 29-30.

until 1641, were only permitted to report overseas news. Thus the frightening plight of Protestants abroad was matched only by the anxieties of those at home.<sup>9</sup>

By the 1640s, the demise of continental Protestantism was believed to reflect the instability and demise of English Protestantism.<sup>10</sup> This is crucial to understanding the extent of the anti-Catholic hysteria in England and is certainly necessary to understanding why *Christianographie* idealistically described an international community of reformed Christians. But Roman Catholicism's presence in England must also be discussed to understand the urgency of *Christianographie*'s project. To do so, we must turn to London where the majority of anti-popery and heresiology was printed, and where their authors resided; and it is also in England's capital that sectaries, whose presence prompted *Heresiography*, were most evident.

### Heresy in the Neighbourhood: London

Though Catholics were a small and declining proportion of the English population, the threat of Roman Catholicism was not confined to the continent.<sup>11</sup> The 1620s and '30s saw English anxieties escalate concerning the threat of Roman Catholicism from within England itself. Recusants refused to attend compulsory Sunday services and many 'Church papists' hid their faith under a guise of outward compliance and conformity.<sup>12</sup> Roman Catholics in some parishes probably outnumbered Protestants.<sup>13</sup> The continent was not the only source of the Catholic threat.

Sectaries began to arrive in England from the continent during the sixteenth century. London had possessed a radical population since the fourteenth century when Lollards lived there but, by the mid-sixteenth century, was 'a haven' for Anabaptists and other sectaries exiled from mainland Europe.<sup>14</sup> They began arriving in the 1530s and established the ideological milieu in which so many radical opinions circulated.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Dagmar Freist, *Govern'd by Opinion: Politics, Religion and the Dynamics of Social Communication in Stuart London 1637-1645* (London: Tauris Academic Studies, 1997), p. 8.

<sup>10</sup> Scott, pp. 99-101; I. Roy, 'England Turn'd Germany? The Aftermath of the Civil War in its European Context', *TRHS*, 5th series, 28 (1978), 127-44, *passim*.

<sup>11</sup> Scott, p. 29.

<sup>12</sup> Walsham, *passim*.

<sup>13</sup> Clifton, 'Fear of Popery', p. 153.

<sup>14</sup> Susan Brigden, *London in the Reformation* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1989), p. 442.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, esp. pp. 82-128, pp. 151-71, pp. 187-98, pp. 270-1, pp. 275-6, pp. 362-77, pp. 593-605, pp. 442-4.

In 1549, John Hooper, the then chaplain to the Duke of Somerset, wrote to Heinrich Bullinger: 'Alas! not only are those heresies reviving among us which were formerly dead and buried, but new ones are springing up every day'.<sup>16</sup> The same words might have been uttered a century later by a Presbyterian, proving that not only did London possess a continuous radical tradition, but a continuity of clerical hysteria and exaggeration. By the Elizabethan period, a lack of ecclesiastical reform and increasingly hard distinctions between the godly and the ungodly prompted many to form self-selected 'covenanted' communities within an increasingly commercial and even cut-throat city.<sup>17</sup> What one historian calls London's 'counter-culture of deviants' was often described in language that recalled heresy rather than simple criminality.<sup>18</sup> London was overrun, one Elizabethan minister wrote, by 'the very Sodomites of the land, children of Belial, without God, without minister; dissolute, disobedient, and reprobate to every good work'.<sup>19</sup> Religious radicals slipped easily into this urban Babylon; some Familists even entered the service of Elizabeth and James.<sup>20</sup> But it was popery which was associated more powerfully with court life in London and the ecclesiastical politicking it sponsored.

Both James I and Charles I admitted that they were Catholic, if not Roman Catholic.<sup>21</sup> Charles believed firmly in the prescribed liturgy of the English Church but his assiduous commitment to devotional prayers, paintings and other practices fuelled suspicions of closet Roman Catholicism.<sup>22</sup> By 1640, one William Collyer claimed that at least forty citizens *knew* that Charles' allegiance was to Rome.<sup>23</sup> Charles' wife, Henrietta Maria, was a practising Roman Catholic with a permanent chapel in St James' Palace and a dozen chaplains. Her mother was an 'uncompromising Catholic presence' and the court itself offered patronage to the prefects and deans of Jesuit, Benedictine and Franciscan missions in London.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Cited in *ibid.*, p. 443.

<sup>17</sup> B. R. White, *The English Separatist Tradition: From the Marian Martyrs to the Pilgrim Fathers* (London: OUP, 1971), pp. 23-8.

<sup>18</sup> Ian W. Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability: Social Relations in Elizabethan London* (Cambridge: CUP, 1991), p. 204.

<sup>19</sup> Cited *ibid.*, p. 204.

<sup>20</sup> Christopher W. Marsh, *The Family of Love in English Society, 1550-1630* (Cambridge: CUP, 1994), pp. 98-102, pp. 116-22, pp. 153-4, pp. 162-70, p. 244.

<sup>21</sup> Caroline M. Hibbard, *Charles I and the Popish Plot* (Carolina: University of North Carolina, 1983), p. 23.

<sup>22</sup> Kevin Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I* (New Haven: Yale University, 1992), pp. 280-1.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 910.

<sup>24</sup> Hibbard, p. 41, p. 60, p. 87.



The increasingly overt Roman Catholicism at court complemented what Nicholas Tyacke calls 'the sacramental thrust of English Arminianism' so that '[i]f not actual reunion with Rome, then at least a general toleration of Catholicism seemed a distinct possibility'.<sup>25</sup> Though historians now question Tyacke's account of an Arminian, anti-Calvinist revolution sponsored by the monarch, the elaboration of ceremony and ritual in the English church under William Laud, the Archbishop of Canterbury, provoked many fears of incipient Roman Catholicism.<sup>26</sup> The Pope offered Laud a cardinal's cap and Laud indeed sought to create a church which could compete *with*, rather than *against*, the Catholic churches of Spain and France.<sup>27</sup> This prompted ferocious disputes within the English Church which certainly influenced the polemical bluster of the 1640s and Pagitt's own view of theological controversy.

The fast and furious name-calling which more severe Protestants heaped upon the Laudian regime undoubtedly influenced the tone and content of Pagitt's subsequent heresiological listing and labelling. In these debates, labels were attributed with theological reason but not theological precision. The Arminian movement condemned by the Synod of Dort in 1617 crucially denied absolute predestination and, in the 1630s, came to be associated with the restoration of ecclesiastical ceremony and church beautification which characterised the Laudian programme. The Arminian repudiation of predestination, Christ's death for the elect only and irresistible grace permitted accusations of Semipelagianism (that it was the human will which anticipated the presence of grace). Such accusations were rapidly inflated to support charges of full-blown Pelagianism (that grace had no part in a man's salvation at all) and even popery (which appeared to be the inspiration for the restoration of church ceremonies and asserted that Christ had died for all).<sup>28</sup> Though much paper

<sup>25</sup> Nicholas Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists: The Rise of English Arminianism c. 1590-1640* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1987), p. 52, p. 227.

<sup>26</sup> Mark Kishlansky, 'The Decline of Puritanism, 1596-1649', paper for the Early Modern British History Seminar, University of Cambridge, 9th May 2001; Nicholas Tyacke, 'Puritanism, Arminianism and Counter-Revolution', in Russell, ed., pp. 119-43, passim; Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists*, passim.

<sup>27</sup> Hibbard, p. 44; Scott, pp. 127-32.

<sup>28</sup> Pierre Du Moulin, *The Anatomy of Arminianisme: or The Opening of the Controversies Lately Handled in the Low-Countryes* (1620), pp. 422-7; Daniel Featley, *A Parallell of New-Old Pelagiarminian Error* (1626), also titled *Pelagius Redivivus. or, Pelagius Raked Out of the Ashes by Arminius and his Schollers* (1626), pp. 1-2, pp. 5-19; Daniel Featley, *A Second Parallell Together With a Writ of Error Sued Against the Appealer* (1626), pp. 1-34 (second pagination); William Prynne, *Anti-Arminianisme. or, The Church of Englands Old Antithesis to New Arminianisme* (1629), A1<sup>r</sup>; Henry Burton, *The Seven Vials or Briefe and Plaine Exposition Upon the 15: and 16: Chapters of the Revelation* (1628), p. 111, cf. ¶3<sup>v</sup>-¶4<sup>v</sup>, pp. 94-5; *ibid.*, *Israels Fast. or, A Meditation Upon the Seventh Chapter of Ioshuah* (1628), A3<sup>v</sup>-A4<sup>v</sup>, B2<sup>v</sup>-B3<sup>v</sup>; Robert Baillie, *Ladensium Aytokatapsis, The Canterburians Self-Conviction or An Evident Demonstration of the Avowed Arminianisme, Poperie, and Tyrannie of*



was devoted to justifying these charges, they soon became stock-charges which made up in vitriol what they lacked in theological propriety or exactitude. Richard Montagu, an opponent of puritanism and successively the Bishop of Chichester and Norwich, was called an Arminian despite his protestations that he had never read 'a word' of Arminius.<sup>29</sup> Daniel Featley considered this defence irrelevant. He remarked that Arminius, who had never read any Pelagius himself, was unable to 'free himselfe from the brand of Pelagianisme'.<sup>30</sup> Pagitt, though he did not apparently engage in the dispute over Arminian and Laudian innovations, was certainly a minister during this period. Tyacke points out that such was the strength of the Arminian faction in the English Church, that it was a 'bold' cleric indeed who continued preaching Calvinist doctrine from his pulpit in the 1630s.<sup>31</sup> Pagitt was certainly such a man.

The polemical name-calling which Pagitt no doubt read and discussed in his parish and with other ministers was reductive and inflammatory. By the 1630s, writes Nicholas Tyacke, '[t]he terms Arminianism and Popery were...used virtually interchangeably and had secular as well as religious connotations - signifying absolutism in addition to heresy and idolatry'.<sup>32</sup> Michael G. Finlayson is right to note that the term 'Arminianism' was used far less during the Long Parliament than it had been in the 1620s: 'In 1641, English political society preferred to call an Arminian by what they believed was his real name - a papist'.<sup>33</sup> By the mid-1640s, papists and Arminians were anyone who was deemed to be an opponent of the parliamentary cause. In 1643, Cromwell seized several Cambridge scholars and temporarily imprisoned them in the Tower while the London mob reviled them as 'Papists' and 'Arminians'.<sup>34</sup> Such terms were used with increasing alacrity and irreverence for theological detail: by the late 1640s and early 50s, in the words of one commentator, 'popery' and 'Catholicism' were 'code names for anyone holding views more conservative than one's own'.<sup>35</sup>

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*that Faction, by their Owne Confession* (1640), repr. as *The Life of William Laud Now Lord Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, Examined* (1643), pp. 8-128, *ibid.*, *Letters*, I, p. 149.

<sup>29</sup> Richard Montagu, *A Gagg for the New Gospell? No: A New Gagg for an Old Goose* (1624), a3v.

<sup>30</sup> Featley, *Second Parallel*, B1v.

<sup>31</sup> Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists*, p. 183.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 243-4.

<sup>33</sup> Finlayson, *Historians*, p. 108.

<sup>34</sup> Bruno Ryves, *Angliæ Ruina: or, Englands Ruine* (1647), p. 115.

<sup>35</sup> Jerome Friedman, *Miracles and the Pulp Press During the English Revolution: The Battle of the Frogs and Fairford's Flies* (London: UCL, 1993), p. 139.

It is unsurprising that several notable opponents of Arminianism were later enthusiastic describers and revilers of the sects. Robert Baillie, Daniel Featley and William Prynne all cut their heresiological teeth on the issue. Featley drew upon Irenaeus, Epiphanius, Augustine and Philastrius to inform his attack upon Arminianism.<sup>36</sup> In 1629, William Prynne suggested that Arminianism was Pelagianism's 'late-born brat', revived through an accident of 'Pythagorean Metempsychosis'.<sup>37</sup> The conflation of Arminianism, Pelagianism and popery was a popular polemical trick and there exists a definite relationship between controversial writings against Arminianism in the 1620s and '30s and the widespread opposition to the sects in the following decade. By the mid-1640s, Arminianism, Pelagianism and popery were widely established as heresiological categories. In *Heresiography*, for example, Pagitt reported that Arminians 'call up againe the Pelagian heresie from hell', 'with wicked *Socinus* they bring in an uncouth and strange justification of man before God' and, even 'from the *Anabaptists*', they denied that men and women were 'the children of wrath' burdened by Original Sin.<sup>38</sup> Pagitt's crudely composite representation of Arminianism encompassed Pelagian, Socinian and Anabaptist tenets.

This constructed an Arminian stereotype rather than an accurate theological exposition or a meaningful statement of their beliefs. The reductive use of other heretical categories foregrounded shared beliefs to simplify the theologies involved. Joint accusations of Arminianism, Anabaptism and popery were levelled at John Etherington because he believed in 'the outward act of baptisme' though Peter Lake shows that such accusations also relied upon a shared conviction in election according to merit rather than the divine will.<sup>39</sup> Lake also suggests that Arminianism and Anabaptism flowed into charges of Familism in which, he writes, 'the familists' status as such greatly exceeded any precise sense of what it was that real familists (if any such still existed by this relatively late date) actually did or believed'.<sup>40</sup> Heresiological reduction and simplification caricatured heresies whose accumulation and terrifying description were far more important than doctrinal explanation. Pagitt's heresiology was no doubt influenced by his proximity to this debate about Arminianism during the

<sup>36</sup> Featley, *A Second Parallel*, pp. 53-4 (second pagination).

<sup>37</sup> Prynne, *Anti-Arminianisme*, b3r, ¶1v.

<sup>38</sup> Pagitt, *Heresiography*, 1st edn, p. 106-7.

<sup>39</sup> John Etherington, *The Deeds of D<sup>r</sup> Denison a Little More Manifested* (1642), B2v; Lake, *Boxmaker's Revenge*, p. 17.

<sup>40</sup> Lake, *Boxmaker's Revenge*, p. 97.

1620s and '30s, to which his adoption and exemplification of various strategies in the 1640s testifies.

An increasingly hysterical fear of popery accompanied such labelling which was as effective as it was inaccurate. By 1640, it was rumoured that Laud had become a Roman Catholic, prompting crowds to attack Lambeth Palace.<sup>41</sup> Crowds also attacked the Spanish and Portuguese embassies, suspecting armed Roman Catholics to be massing inside them.<sup>42</sup> Though the majority of plots rarely concerned areas larger than a county, or often a parish, Parliament and the High Commission Court issued proclamations and warrants against Roman Catholics, and suspected plots thickened in number and complexity.<sup>43</sup> In August 1640, the Habernfeld Plot accused Jesuits of conspiring against Charles and Laud; another Jesuit conspiracy allegedly involved a plan to murder the King by slipping him a poisoned nut; another suggested that Roman Catholics were going to massacre members of Parliament; and another conspiracy alleged that the Queen Mother was plotting with the Irish, in league with the Spanish, Venetian and French ambassadors. The Irish Rebellion, breaking out in 1641, was perceived by many as the first stage in a war between British Protestants and a fifth column of Irish, Welsh and Scottish papists.<sup>44</sup> On 5th May 1641, a rumour swept through London that papists had burned down the House of Commons.<sup>45</sup> That the Crown and Court were implicated as both victims and schemers is an indication of the prolonged and prevalent hysteria. By the 1640s and the outbreak of the Civil War, popish plots were replaced by royalist ones, such as those which involved Sir Basil Brooke who was, unsurprisingly, a Roman Catholic as well.

As war continued, the sects gained momentum from war-weariness, an evolving opposition to episcopacy and increasingly radical religious separatism. One must remember that, for the most part, separatist congregations emerged out of the centrifugal momentum of Protestantism itself which turned private meetings into small, self-selecting congregations when members of the godly felt alienated or ostracised from the world at large.<sup>46</sup> Yet these groups were often tolerated by the

<sup>41</sup> Keith Lindley, *Popular Politics and Religion in Civil War London* (Aldershot: Scolar, 1997), p. 5.

<sup>42</sup> Hibbard, p. 195.

<sup>43</sup> Clifton, 'Fear of Popery', pp. 157-61.

<sup>44</sup> Hibbard, pp. 57-8, p. 156, p. 225, p. 217.

<sup>45</sup> Lindley, p. 24.

<sup>46</sup> Patrick Collinson, 'The English Conventicle', in W. J. Sheils and Diana Wood, eds, *Voluntary Religion: Papers Read at the 1985 Summer Meeting and the 1986 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986), pp. 223-259, *passim*.

'ungodly' to an extent which has surprised recent historians.<sup>47</sup> Distinctive sectarian denominations and labels, therefore, can be misleading though nominally-distinct sects have in the past been seen as the only means of referring to 'a kind of congregationalism' which was as amorphous as it was anonymous.<sup>48</sup> David Masson rightly suggests, 'In the general welter or anarchy of opinion there were, of course, vortices round particular centres, forming sects that either had, or might receive, definite names'.<sup>49</sup> This, however, must be understood in light of Murray Tolmie's observation that 'it is the church that makes the denomination, not the denomination the church'.<sup>50</sup> Laurence Clarkson, for example, described the group of Antinomians of which he was a part in the early 1640s in terms which do not sound like a sect: 'for Church it was none, in that it was but part form, and part none'.<sup>51</sup> Since Clarkson's primitive monism eschewed theological and material boundaries and self-definition, it was left to others to impose the crude denominational label, 'Ranter'.<sup>52</sup>

Such sectarian labelling engaged in hostile rather than neutral, descriptive or *deserved* signification. The first Root and Branch petition in December 1640, for example, was purposefully identified with the sectarian threat rather than indignant Presbyterianism: Edward Kirton blamed Anabaptists and Sir Neville Poole pointed the finger at Brownists.<sup>53</sup> Yet it is unlikely that its 15,000 signatures belonged to so-called Anabaptists or Brownists; it is very doubtful that 15,000 Anabaptists or Brownists even existed.

But historians sometimes look beyond the labels. Christopher Marsh suggests that sixteenth century Familists were a 'numerically small fellowship' and one contemporary estimated that they numbered only a thousand throughout the whole country.<sup>54</sup> Before 1642, Robert Baillie considered 'Brownists, and Separatists of

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., 'Critical Conclusion', in Margaret Spufford, ed., *The World of Rural Dissenters, 1520-1725* (Cambridge: CUP, 1995), pp. 388-96, pp. 391-2; Marsh, *Family of Love*, pp. 187-95, pp. 249-52.

<sup>48</sup> Patrick Collinson, *The Religion of Protestants: The Church in English Society 1559-1625* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1982), p. 250, pp. 242-83; Christopher Hill, *Society and Puritanism in Pre-Revolutionary England* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1964), pp. 490-500.

<sup>49</sup> David Masson, *The Life of John Milton: Narrated in Connexion With the Political, Ecclesiastical, and Literary History of his Time*, rev. ed., 6 vols (Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1965), III, p. 146.

<sup>50</sup> Murray Tolmie, *The Triumph of the Saints: The Separate Churches of London 1616-1649* (Cambridge: CUP, 1977), p. 102.

<sup>51</sup> Laurence Clarkson, *The Lost Sheep Found, or, The Prodigal Returned to his Fathers House* (1660), p. 10.

<sup>52</sup> William Poole, 'Frail Originals: Theories of the Fall in the Age of Milton' (unpublished D.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, 2001), p. 103.

<sup>53</sup> Lindley, pp. 16-7.

<sup>54</sup> Marsh, *Family of Love*, p. 10; John Rogers, *The Displaying of an Horrible Secte of Grosse and Wicked Heretiques, Naming Themselves the Family of Love* (1578), C8<sup>r</sup>. Marsh mistakenly suggests that Rogers claimed there were one thousand Familists in London alone.

many kynds' to be 'no considerable partie'.<sup>55</sup> Thomas Edwards deemed them at this stage to have been 'so small and inconsiderable...some halfe a score or dozen Ministers, three of four hundred people'.<sup>56</sup> He claimed that no congregational church in the early 1640s had more than thirty or forty members.<sup>57</sup> Tolmie suggests that at the beginning of the 1640s there were no more than 1000 sectaries in London, the total population of which was approximately 250,000.<sup>58</sup> They were, in the words of one historian, 'a minute element in the religious life of their own day'.<sup>59</sup>

After 1641, Masson describes, somewhat hyperbolically, the sects' 'extraordinary multiplication' into 'a vast chaos'.<sup>60</sup> Baptists were certainly increasing in numbers after 1642, and particularly after 1644.<sup>61</sup> Robert Baillie lamented 'the strange confusions' wrought by Anabaptists and Antinomians though he maintained, in 1646, that 'the body of the city is a zealous and understanding people, fully apprehensive of the mischief of the sectaries among them'.<sup>62</sup> By the mid-1640s, there were five congregations of General Baptists in London and seven of the Particular kind.<sup>63</sup> By June 1644, perhaps twelve Independent congregations existed.<sup>64</sup> In 1645, Daniel Featley estimated that there were forty-seven Anabaptist churches (and 20,000 papists), though he did not suggest whether this was in London or throughout the whole country.<sup>65</sup> By 1646, there were at least thirty-six separatist churches in London and Presbyterian opposition to the sects was reaching its peak.<sup>66</sup>

By the mid-1640s, Masson's 'vast chaos' was certainly evident in the hysteria of contemporaries. Edwards insisted that due to a lack of church government 'a few Sectaries five years agoe, are grown now to many thousands'.<sup>67</sup> The situation, he wrote several months later, 'these three last yeares [was] encreasing and growing very

<sup>55</sup> Baillie, *Letters*, I, p. 311.

<sup>56</sup> Thomas Edwards, *Gangraena: or A Catalogue and Discovery of Many of the Errours, Heresies, Blasphemies and Pernicious Practices of the Sectaries of this Time, Vented and Acted in England in these Last Four Years*, 3 parts (1646; [facsimile] Ilkley: Scholar, 1977), I, i, p. 58. The first part of *Gangraena* is irregularly paginated, running 1-76 and then 49-184, meaning that pages are numbered 49-76 twice; 'i' refers the page reference to the first set of pages 49-76, 'ii' to the second.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, II, p. 16.

<sup>58</sup> Tolmie, p. 37.

<sup>59</sup> A. G. Dickens, *The English Reformation* (London: B. T. Batsford, 1964), p. 313.

<sup>60</sup> Masson, III, p. 136.

<sup>61</sup> M. B. Owen, 'Bedyddwyr Dair Canrif Yn Ol (Yng Ngolau Ysgrifau Thomas Edwards a Dr. Featly)', *Trafodion Cymdeithas Hanes Bedyddwyr Cymru* (1945-7, published 1948), 5-18, p. 8.

<sup>62</sup> Baillie, *Letters*, II, p. 250, p. 352, cf. p. 177, p. 185, p. 191, p. 327, p. 342, p. 146, p. 169.

<sup>63</sup> Lindley, p. 284-5.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 282.

<sup>65</sup> Daniel Featley, *Κἄτ᾽ἄβ᾽ἀπιστῶν καὶ τ᾽ἀπυσοῖ. Dippers Dipt. or, The Anabaptists Ducked and Plunged Over Head and Eares, at a Disputation in Southwarke*, 1st edn (1645), C1v.

<sup>66</sup> Tolmie, p. 4.



bad, but this last yeare [is] outrageous'.<sup>68</sup> Baillie, on the other hand, suggested that Independents numbered 'much within One thousand' and that what they lacked 'in number' was 'supplied by the weight' of their supporters and sympathisers.<sup>69</sup> It is unsurprising to find an inflated description of sectarian activity in Thomas Edwards' exclamation in *Gangraena*:

How do sects and schismes increase and grow daily, Sectaries doing even what they will, committing insolencies and outrages, not only against the truth of God and the peace of the Church, but the Civil state also, going up and down Countries, causing riots, yea threats and disturbances in the publike Assemblies! how do persons cast out of other Countries for their Errours, not only live here, but gather Churches, preach publiquely their Opinions! what swarmes are there of all sorts of illiterate mechanick Preachers, yea of Woman and Boy Preachers! What a number of meetings of Sectaries in this City, eleven at least in one Parish!<sup>70</sup>

Though Edwards was rallying the Presbyterian cause by exaggerating the threat of Independency, his two claims concerning sectarian behaviour (that sectaries from 'other Countries' were flocking to London and that eleven conventicles met in one parish alone) are found elsewhere in another Presbyterian polemic and a City petition to Parliament submitted on the 14th January 1646.<sup>71</sup> What appears to be hysterical repetition, rather than corroboration, certainly matches Edwards' rhetoric. He described a meeting of eighty Anabaptists in Bishopsgate whereas Robert Baillie wrote of much smaller groups. For Baillie, seven people constituted 'a full and perfect Congregation' for both Independents and Brownists, though two or three would suffice.<sup>72</sup>

Indeed, David Como and Peter Lake successfully show that small groups of radical puritans *did* exist, meeting clandestinely, circulating esoteric and sometimes seditious manuscripts and publishing theologically eccentric pamphlets through

<sup>67</sup> Edwards, *Gangraena*, I, p. 113.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid., III, pp. 267-8.

<sup>69</sup> Robert Baillie, *A Dissuasive From the Errours of the Time* (1645), p. 53.

<sup>70</sup> Edwards, *Gangraena*, I, a1<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>71</sup> Baillie, *Dissuasive*, p. 75, p. 90; CLRO, Journal 40, fol. 160<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>72</sup> Edwards, *Gangraena*, I, p. 104; Baillie, *Dissuasive*, p. 23, p. 107.

sympathetic printers.<sup>73</sup> Peter Lake writes unequivocally that 'there were groups of real familists, anabaptists, separatists and independents to listen to, meet and debate with'.<sup>74</sup> Many of the figures cited by men such as Edwards, Featley and Baillie were, in the words of Keith Lindley, 'highly exaggerated estimates'.<sup>75</sup> Lindley valuably reminds us that the sects were still 'a tiny minority of the capital's total population'.<sup>76</sup> A still more recent commentator suggests that the sects were 'minuscule to the public eye' and many sects were 'probably nonexistent'.<sup>77</sup> One must remember that only a careful examination of heresiological texts yields the careful and conservative estimates cited here; more frequently, sectarian numbers were telescoped and sectarian types multiplied. This reminds one that although Pagitt's *Heresiography* was one of the more furious responses to that 'vast chaos' of sectarian activity in the 1640s, the heresies it described were based upon very real religious turbulence.

The sects which appeared in *Heresiography*'s later editions, such as the Ranters, Quakers and Fifth Monarchists, were also extrapolated out of very real sectarian antics. James Naylor gave Quakers a bad name on 24th October 1656 by entering Bristol on an ass, imitating Christ's entry into Jerusalem. Thomas Venner led armed Fifth Monarchist uprisings in April 1657 and January 1661. These were very real events. Naylor was pilloried, branded, whipped, imprisoned and had his tongue bored with a hot iron.<sup>78</sup> Having been imprisoned for his first revolt, Venner was executed with twelve of his rebels.<sup>79</sup> Like the Ranters, as Nigel Smith intelligently points out, 'if [these sects] existed, they were the product of their own as well as others' making'.<sup>80</sup> Even amidst the pamphlet-hysteria which surrounded these notorious groups, there was no smoke without fire.

This pamphlet-hysteria was not only a response to failed uprisings or messianic impostors. Sectaries themselves published innumerable pamphlets to further their demands and disseminate their views. In 1637, the Star Chamber imposed harsh

<sup>73</sup> Como, 'Puritans and Heretics', passim; Lake and Como, "'Orthodoxy'", passim; Lake, *Boxmaker's Revenge*, pp. 170-89, passim.

<sup>74</sup> Lake, *Boxmaker's Revenge*, p. 356.

<sup>75</sup> Lindley, p. 287.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid., p. 287.

<sup>77</sup> Poole, *Radical Religion*, p. 12.

<sup>78</sup> Leo Damrosch, *The Sorrows of the Quaker Jesus: James Naylor and the Puritan Crackdown on the Free Spirit* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University, 1996), pp. 146-50, p. 214-5.

<sup>79</sup> Bernard Capp, *The Fifth Monarchy Men: A Study in Seventeenth-Century English Millenarianism* (London: Faber and Faber, 1972), pp. 117-8, pp. 199-200.

<sup>80</sup> Nigel Smith, *Perfection Proclaimed: Language and Literature in English Radical Religion 1640-1660* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1989), p. 9.



printing controls, limiting printers, licensing presses and requiring the registration of all books and reprints. Any unlicensed printing, selling or importing was illegal; all seditious books were banned. Nevertheless, nineteen pairs of ears were cropped between 1630 and 1641.<sup>81</sup> When the Star Chamber and High Commission Court were abolished in 1641, radicals took full advantage of the presses which were left with no legal regulation. The number of published books soared: George Thomason collected 22 new titles in 1640, almost 2000 in 1641 and, by 1660, estimated that three new titles appeared every day.<sup>82</sup> The number of printed pages never significantly increased but there was a "downwards dissemination" of print - a democratising of its availability...a media revolution'.<sup>83</sup> Many believed that this 'democratisation' of print was not only illegal but propagated religious dissent. Hawkers sold the pamphlets which book-sellers refused to stock and Common Council lamented that they were 'daily cried about the streets'.<sup>84</sup> After parliamentary demands for printing controls and a Stationers' Company petition against unregistered books, the Court of Common Council formed a twelve-strong committee to suppress 'divers venomous [sic] scandalous base and horrid pamphlets' in 1646.<sup>85</sup> Like members of the High Commission Court, members of this committee were seen as 'Judges of true and false doctrine' though some of what they judged was itself a fabrication.<sup>86</sup>

Many of the godly fell victim to parodies which purposefully exaggerated sectarian claims. One example is *Little Non-Such*. This short pamphlet argued that since Man was made in the image of God, God Himself (having admitted as much in Exodus 33:23) had 'back parts' too, that the fruit Adam fatally plucked in Eden might have been an apple, a fig, or even nothing but a metaphor, and that (developing Milton's position on marriage) forbidding wedlock, even between brother and sister, was a strictly popish tradition, with no justification in scripture.<sup>87</sup> Understandably, *Little Non-Such* was soon widely attacked.<sup>88</sup> Likewise, historians have taken the

<sup>81</sup> Freist, p. 31.

<sup>82</sup> Christopher Hill, 'Radical Prose in Seventeenth Century England: From Marprelate to the Levellers', *Essays in Criticism*, 32 (1982), 95-118, p. 96.

<sup>83</sup> Nigel Smith, *Literature and Revolution in England, 1640-1660* (New Haven: Yale University, 1994), p. 24.

<sup>84</sup> CLRO, Journal 40, fol. 140r.

<sup>85</sup> *Parliamentary History*, II, p. 1373; Milton, 'Licensing', p. 635; CLRO, Journal 40, fol. 184r.

<sup>86</sup> Ryves, p. 151.

<sup>87</sup> Anon, *Little Non-Such: or, Certain New Questions Moved out of Ancient Truths* (1646), pp. 3-4. This anticipates the Ranter opinion that 'the devil is but a part of Gods back sides', see Anon, *A Justification of the Mad Crew in their Waies and Principles* (1650), A2v, pp. 4-5, pp. 5-15.

<sup>88</sup> Edwards, *Gangraena*, III, p. 2; T. C., *A Glasse for the Times* (1648), p. 6; Anon, *A Testimony of the Truth of Jesus Christ, and to Our Solemn League and Covenant* (1648), p. 19; Anon, *Hell Broke Loose: or, A Catalogue of*

pamphlet seriously and attribute it to a group of hostile puritans, William Walwyn, a Roman Catholic and earnest Brownists.<sup>89</sup> The sensitive reader, however, notes the subtle irreverence of the doctrines and an aside that it 'maintaines nothing poistively [sic], but asketh questions'.<sup>90</sup> One such reader, Ernest Sirluck, rightly considers the text to be 'a satire on promulgators of novel ideas subversive of established doctrines and institutions...a sarcastic jeer'.<sup>91</sup> Another example is the anonymous *New Petition of the Papists* which contained precisely the same body of text as the similarly anonymous *Humble Petition of the Brownists*. Only the title pages differed. It is certain that papists and Brownists were not *both* responsible for writing this pamphlet which was in fact probably written by William Walwyn to argue for toleration.<sup>92</sup> In order to exploit the sectarian press and satirise radical ideas, satirists certainly fabricated radicalism.

### Heresy on the Doorstep: Lombard Street

It is unknown whether Pagitt ever travelled abroad to witness popery on its own ground, but he certainly encountered heresy at home. He was complaining of 'irreligious persons' terrorising ministers as early as 1640.<sup>93</sup> According to William Lee, Pagitt's bookseller, the minister of St Edmund the King was determined 'to discover, root up, and hinder the growth' of all the 'Heresie and Error' he found.<sup>94</sup> Pagitt's efforts certainly angered his opponents: 'Since the publishing of this *Heresiography*, I have been abused above measure, not onely with reviling language in the streets, as I got; but also in my estate: some Sectaries of my Parish, denying now to pay me anything at all'.<sup>95</sup> Pagitt was even attacked in his own pulpit: 'I have

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*Many of the Spreading Errors, Heresies and Blasphemies of these Times, for Which We Are to be Humbled* (1646), p. 5.

<sup>89</sup> Samuel Rawson Gardiner, *History of England From the Accession of James I. to the Outbreak of the Civil War 1603-1642*, 10 vols (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1883-4), X, p. 35; Theodore Calvin Pease, *The Leveller Movement: A Study in the History and Political Theory of the Great English Civil War* (London: Humphrey Milford, 1916), pp. 256-7; William Haller, *Tracts on Liberty in the Puritan Revolution 1638-1647*, 3 vols (New York: Columbia University, 1934), I, p. 126; Henry Alexander Glass, *The Barbone Parliament* (London: James Clark & Co., 1899), pp. 21-2; Robert Barclay, *The Inner Life of the Religious Societies of the Commonwealth* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1876), p. 476.

<sup>90</sup> Anon, *Non-Such*, p. 16.

<sup>91</sup> CPWJM, II, p. 801.

<sup>92</sup> William Walwyn, *The Writings of William Walwyn*, eds Jack R. McMichael and Barbara Taft (London: University of Georgia, 1989), pp. 55-6.

<sup>93</sup> Pagitt, *Christianographie*, 3rd edn, I, p. 183; cf. *ibid.*, I, p. 177.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, *Heresiography*, 6th edn, (a)2<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, 2nd edn, p. 154.

[been] deprecated or execrated', he wrote, 'yea even in my owne Church, in my own Pulpit, and in my owne hearing'.<sup>96</sup>

It was not uncommon for the clergy to be victimised. The sequestered rector of St Matthew, Friday Street, wrote that 'unheard of violences were offered to Ministers officiating in full congregations by a few Sectaries, yet scarce durst any man either rescue the Minister, or defend their own Religion'.<sup>97</sup> Sectaries ultimately forced Samuel Rutherford to leave Southampton and assume a living at Carisbrooke on the Isle of Wight.<sup>98</sup> Thomas Edwards claimed that one Colonel Washington barracked him as 'a false Prophet' during a sermon and accused him of misunderstanding the parable of tares.<sup>99</sup> Edwards also described 'Sectaries [who] have disturbed godly conscientious Ministers in the Pulpits, standing up in the very face of the Congregations, and speaking to them...charging them with false Doctrine, calling them Antichristian Ministers, and such like'.<sup>100</sup> By the summer of 1646, Pagitt was one of the many ministers who were forced to leave their parishes.<sup>101</sup> Heresy was quite literally on his doorstep and, sometimes, in even his own church.

Lombard Street was quickly becoming a hot-bed of radical dissent. It not only held a dense concentration of booksellers, but numerous radicals.<sup>102</sup> In 1638, a High Commission Court deposition identified a Lombard Street tailor as a 'cheif' Familist and a bookbinder as one of his fellows.<sup>103</sup> Thomas Edwards referred to a washball-making tub-preacher who learned his trade on Lombard Street and to Hugh Peters, the then Army preacher, who railed against church discipline from the pulpit of Pagitt's neighbouring church, All Hallows.<sup>104</sup> One John Cardell was the incumbent at the time and, by 1655, was known as a Fifth Monarchist.<sup>105</sup> Certainly, one Cordwell (probably John Cardwell) was recorded as 'a Mystery-Man so called' who preached on Lombard Street in 1655.<sup>106</sup> The Ranter, Laurence Clarkson, even fondly reminisced in his autobiography over 'Doctor *Pagets* maid' who once enthusiastically

<sup>96</sup> Ibid., 1st edn, p. 72.

<sup>97</sup> Robert Chestlin, *Persecutio Undecima: The Churches Eleventh Persecution* (1648), p. 20. The inferred identity of the author is likely to be the correct one. Robert Chestlin held the parish of St Matthew, Friday Street, and was ejected due to the protests of a minority of parishioners, see Lindley, p. 53.

<sup>98</sup> Briggs, p. 21.

<sup>99</sup> Edwards, *Gangraena*, II, p. 174.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid., II, p. 173; cf. CLRO, Journal 40, fol. 160v.

<sup>101</sup> CLRO, Journal 40, fol. 190v.

<sup>102</sup> Freist, p. 95.

<sup>103</sup> PRO, SPD 16/520, fol. 126r, fol. 129r.

<sup>104</sup> Edwards, *Gangraena*, III, pp. 96-7; I, p. 183.

<sup>105</sup> Tolmie, p. 83; Capp, *Fifth Monarchy Men*, p. 244.

participated in Ranter merry-making.<sup>107</sup> It is unknown whether Pagitt knew the radicals described here, but he certainly knew others. His bookseller, William Lee, recorded that he heard Pagitt himself say that 'he was well acquainted with most of them that set-a-foot these false Opinions'.<sup>108</sup>

One radical that Pagitt definitely knew was John Eaton, an antinomian minister between 1604 and 1619 who subsequently publicised his ideas through print rather than the pulpit.<sup>109</sup> He was the 'seminal theorist' of 'Antinomian agitators' in London during the 1630s. He dismissed human corruption by interpreting justification literally to suppose that members of the elect were absolutely sinless.<sup>110</sup> One historian calls Eaton '[t]he very "father" of English antinomianism'.<sup>111</sup> Thomas Gataker, the son of Pagitt's predecessor at St Edmund the King, even identified 'Antinomians' as 'Eatonists'.<sup>112</sup> Eaton acquired notoriety in *Heresiography* as the '*first Antinomian in England*' and Pagitt admitted that Eaton had once 'been a Scholler of mine'.<sup>113</sup> It is intriguing that Pagitt had once taught him. He may have done so as one of his 'petit employments' which he held before assuming his ministry in 1601.<sup>114</sup> Pagitt was perhaps a tutor at Trinity College, Oxford, where he possibly taught John Eaton who was a resident there between 1590 and 1603.<sup>115</sup> No evidence, however, confirms Pagitt's presence in the college during that period.<sup>116</sup> Patrick Collinson suggests that schoolmastering was 'commonly regarded as a stopgap or *pis aller*' for many

<sup>106</sup> Luke Howard, *Love and Truth in Plainness Manifested* (1704), p. 14.

<sup>107</sup> Clarkson, *Lost Sheep*, p. 28. It must be noted that this event occurred sometime after Clarkson's *A Single Eye All Light, No Darkness* (1650) was printed. Thomason dates his copy of this text 4th October 1650 and Pagitt died in late October 1646. Though it is impossible to prove or disprove that the maid was a member of Pagitt's household (or whether Clarkson was inventing the whole scenario), it would explain Clarkson's gloating if her supposed master had been the notorious heresy-hunting minister. Of course, Clarkson's triumph is rather hollow since Pagitt himself was at the time long dead. David Cressy notes this possibility, but fails to consider the awkward chronology, see David Cressy, *Travesties and Transgressions in Tudor and Stuart England: Tales of Discord and Dissension* (Oxford: OUP, 2000), p. 274.

<sup>108</sup> Pagitt, *Heresiography*, 6th edn, (a)3v.

<sup>109</sup> John Eaton is not to be confused with Samuel Eaton (d. 1639), a button-maker turned separatist pastor who was persecuted by the High Commission in the 1630s and died in Newgate Prison, or with Samuel Eaton (c. 1596-1665), a puritan minister who spent time in Holland and America, see Tolmie, pp. 17-9, pp. 22-7, p. 39, pp. 192-5; Richard L. Greaves and Robert Zaller, eds, *Biographical Dictionary of British Radicals in the Seventeenth Century*, 3 vols (Brighton, Sussex: Harvester Press, 1984), I, pp. 242-4.

<sup>110</sup> Theodore Dwight Bozeman, "'The Glory of the Third Time': John Eaton as Contra Puritan", *JEH*, 47 (1996), 639-54, p. 642; Como, 'Puritans and Heretics', pp. 162-216.

<sup>111</sup> Gertrude Huehns, *Antinomianism in English History: With Special Reference to the Period 1640-1660* (London: The Crescent Press, 1951), p. 47.

<sup>112</sup> Thomas Gataker, *God's Eye on His Israel; or, A Passage Out of Balaam, Out of Numb. 23.21* (1645), p. 2.

<sup>113</sup> Pagitt, *Heresiography*, 1st edn, p. 89.

<sup>114</sup> Anthony à Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, rev. ed. Philip Bliss, 4 vols (London: T. Davison, 1877), III, p. 210.

<sup>115</sup> Joseph Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*, 4 vols (Oxford: Parker and Co., 1891-2), II, p. 442; Wood, III, p. 21.

<sup>116</sup> Correspondence to the author from Mrs C. J. Hopkins, Trinity College Archivist, 3rd February 1999.

ministers and Pagitt may have encountered Eaton at Westminster or St. Paul's.<sup>117</sup> Eaton was lectured in orthodox theology at these schools after he was deprived of his living in 1619. According to the reminiscences of the then Archbishop of Canterbury, George Abbot, Eaton 'was soe ignorant, and his carriage soe simple, that we thought fitt to send him to Westminster Schoole and Paule's Schoole to be instructed'.<sup>118</sup> Eaton would no doubt have merited a severe 'instructor', but neither school records Pagitt's presence during this period.<sup>119</sup> Had Pagitt taught Eaton at this point, it is clear that he had no need to defend his influence as a teacher - as he does not - since Eaton's errors were established before Pagitt's instruction began. Yet it is also the case that the stubbornly antinomian Eaton learned very little from Pagitt. He reputedly went on to make ladies' hats.<sup>120</sup>

Another radical acquaintance was John Traske, a Sabbatarian who Pagitt knew 'well'.<sup>121</sup> Brian S. Ball claims that Pagitt also knew John Traske's wife, Dorothy, following an admission in a document included in the sixth edition of *Heresiography* that 'She taught a Son of mine'.<sup>122</sup> But the pronoun does not belonged to Pagitt. The document in question is anonymous. William Lee, who included it in his posthumous edition of *Heresiography*, remarked that Pagitt had 'not seen' the document whilst he was still alive.<sup>123</sup> Yet it remains quite possible that Pagitt knew Dorothy Traske through her husband. Both Traskes held Sabbatarian beliefs concerning the strict observance of Jewish law, including abstention from work on the Jewish Sabbath and adherence to Semitic dietary requirements.<sup>124</sup> Dorothy Traske came to the notice of the High Commission Court for refusing to teach reading on Saturdays.<sup>125</sup>

Such physical proximity to radicalism anticipated the antagonisms which prompted Pagitt's crusade against schism and heresy in *Heresiography*. Yet an even closer investigation of the men and women who were legislated against, prosecuted

<sup>117</sup> Collinson, *Religion of Protestants*, p. 98.

<sup>118</sup> Samuel Rawson Gardiner, *Reports of Cases in the Courts of Star Chamber and High Commission*, (London: Nichols and Sons, 1886), p. 320.

<sup>119</sup> Correspondence to the author from Mr S. May, Archivist of St. Paul's School, May 25th 1999 and from Mr P. Holmes, Archivist of Westminster School, June 3rd 1999.

<sup>120</sup> Edwards, *Gangraena*, II, pp. 110-1.

<sup>121</sup> Pagitt, *Heresiography*, 1st edn, p. 124.

<sup>122</sup> Brian S. Ball, *The Seventh-Day Men: Sabbatarians and Sabbatarianism in England and Wales, 1600-1800* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), p. 55; Pagitt, *Heresiography*, 6th edn, p. 209.

<sup>123</sup> Pagitt, *Heresiography*, 6th edn, p. 209, p. 163.

<sup>124</sup> Greaves and Zaller, III, pp. 251-2.

<sup>125</sup> Pagitt, *Heresiography*, 6th edn, p. 210.



and imprisoned as religious radicals not only permits a detailed examination of the sectaries themselves, but shows how penal and judicial discourse practised the hostile labelling which the remainder of this dissertation explores; this also suggests that such labelling *was* sometimes spurious since, in penal and judicial contexts, it is possible to examine in microcosm the precise relations between labels and those they labelled.

### Heresy Itself: Prosecutions and Prisons

Many of the religious radicals captured in London during the 1630s and '40s were tried before the High Commission Court or the city authorities and then imprisoned in a hitherto little-known prison called the New Prison, Maiden Lane. The heretics discussed here were imprisoned in the New Prison for at least part of their penal careers. John and Dorothy Traske were both imprisoned there in 1617.<sup>126</sup> Ten years later, John Etherington, the familistical box-maker, was imprisoned there.<sup>127</sup> According to Pagitt, Richard Lane, a tailor's apprentice, was also imprisoned there for familistical opinions.<sup>128</sup> Pagitt described it as a 'Prison purposely ordained to keep men that differed in opinions from the English Church'.<sup>129</sup> John Taylor called the New Prison 'a Jayle for *Hereticks, For Brownists, Familists and Schismaticks*'.<sup>130</sup> One historian rightly remarks that, in the New Prison, there was 'no instance of a person held for an offence not connected with religion'.<sup>131</sup>

The New Prison was established sometime in the first quarter of the seventeenth century.<sup>132</sup> It was a bishop's prison but no records of it survive in the Guildhall, in which records for the diocese of London are held, or at Lambeth

<sup>126</sup> Greaves and Zaller, III, pp. 251-2; Pagitt, *Heresiography*, 6th edn, p. 210.

<sup>127</sup> John Etherington, *The Defence of John Etherington Against Stephen Denison, and his Witnesses, their Accusations, and Depositions* (1641), p. 62.

<sup>128</sup> Pagitt, *Heresiography*, 6th edn, p. 215.

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 215.

<sup>130</sup> John Taylor, *All the Works of John Taylor the Water Poet* (1630; [facsimile] London: Scholar, 1973), ii, p. 131.

<sup>131</sup> Clifford Dobb, 'Life and Conditions in London Prisons, 1553-1643, With Special Reference to Contemporary Literature' (unpublished B.Litt thesis, University of Oxford, 1957), p. 108.

<sup>132</sup> John Timbs, *Curiosities of London*, rev. ed. (London: Longmans, Green, Reader and Dyer, 1868), p. 693. He suggests that the prison was built in 1615, but then confuses it with the New Prison, Clerkenwell; Dobb, 'Life and Conditions', pp. 107-8. Dobb suggests that ten prisoners were transferred from the Bishop of London's prison in Westminster in 1614 to what became known as the New Prison. The first reference to the New Prison occurs in the Privy Council in June 1618, see John Roche Dasent, gen. ed., *Acts of the Privy Council of England*, 46 vols (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1890-1964), XXXVI, p. 197 and, in the PRO, SPD in 1625, see CSPD, 1625-6, p. 283.



Palace.<sup>133</sup> The New Prison was located just north of a well-known wharf (and ale-house) called the Three Cranes and only a few hundred yards south of St Paul's where conventiclers were examined when there were too many of them to transport across the Thames to Lambeth Palace.<sup>134</sup> Maiden Lane, on which the prison was located, is now called Distaff Lane.<sup>135</sup> The prison fell into disuse under the High Commission, which was the court under whose jurisdiction it fell, and very few men and women were committed there after the mid-1630s. Prisoners were removed from the New Prison and deposited in, for the most part, the Gatehouse as early as 1634. This was due to a succession of escapes and a thriving Roman Catholic community in the prison, of which the Keeper himself appears to have been a part.<sup>136</sup> The Long Parliament closed the New Prison sometime in November 1640 when it moved against those establishments which it suspected of being 'popish Religious howses'.<sup>137</sup> The prison was certainly referred to as 'now dissolved' by 2nd December 1640.<sup>138</sup> On the 10th January 1641, however, at least nine Anabaptists meeting in Whitechapel were captured and imprisoned there.<sup>139</sup> Though apparently 'dissolved', the prison was still in use.

By 1646, the Stationers' Company was busy depositing seditious writers and printers in the New Prison. The prison was now under secular rather than ecclesiastical control; its known inmates were imprisoned not for what they professed, but for what they printed. William Larner, the Leveller bookseller, was seized by a constable and two agents of the Stationers' Company on the 22nd March 1646 for having in his shop twenty-five copies of *The Last Warning to All the Inhabitants of London*. This pamphlet recommended a harder line against the King and called

<sup>133</sup> Dobb, 'Life and Conditions', p. 108; Champlin Burrage, *The Early English Dissenters in the Light of Recent Research (1550-1641)*, 2 vols (Cambridge: the University, 1912), II, p. 296. I am grateful to Stephen Freeth at the Guildhall for his help in this respect and employees at Lambeth Palace library who pointed me towards Henry John Todd, *Some Account of the Deans of Canterbury...to Which is Added a Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Church Library* (Canterbury: Simmons, Kirkby, and Jones, 1793), pp. 259-89.

<sup>134</sup> John Taylor, *The Vertue of a Jayle, and Necessitie of Hanging in Works*, ii, pp. 126-34, p. 131; *ibid.*, *Taylor's Travels and Circular Perambulation, Through, and by More Then Thirty Times Twelve Signes of the Zodiack, of the Famous Cities of London and Westminster* (1636), p. 24; Gardiner, *Reports*, p. 44. 286

<sup>135</sup> The earliest and most detailed map of the area was drawn in the aftermath of the Great Fire but appears faithful to representations of that area in early modern maps of London, see John Roque, *The A-Z of Georgian London*, intro. Ralph Hyde (London: London Topographical Society, 1982), pp. 12-3 (drawn 1747).

<sup>136</sup> The reader is referred to CUL, MS Dd. ii. 21, *passim*.

<sup>137</sup> Pagitt, *Heresiography*, 6th edn, p. 210; Sir Simon D'Ewes, *The Journal of Sir Simonds D'Ewes from the Beginning of the Long Parliament to the Opening of the Trial of the Earl of Strafford*, ed. Wallace Notestein (New Haven: Yale University, 1923), p. 13, cf. *Parliamentary History*, II, p. 672.

<sup>138</sup> CSPD, 1640-1, p. 294; cf. PRO, SPD 16/473, fol. 17r.

Presbyterianism 'most unreasonable and un Christian [sic]'.<sup>140</sup> Thomas Edwards heard that at least one sectary boasted that the book 'had cut the legges of the Presbyterian government' and noted how widely it had been sold.<sup>141</sup> Larner spent two nights in the Poultry Counter before being moved to the New Prison because he refused to pay the Counter's fees. The Marshall of the City of London was the Keeper of the New Prison but one Mr Hodgkins, the 'under Keeper', probably supervised its day-to-day operation.<sup>142</sup>

Mary Overton, the wife of the Leveller Richard Overton, and his brother, Thomas, were also committed to the New Prison after armed soldiers ransacked the Overtons' house and confiscated the family's printing press sometime in 1646.<sup>143</sup> It has been suggested that Richard Overton, himself imprisoned in Newgate, was responsible for writing *The Last Warning to All the Inhabitants of London* and he certainly knew Larner who may have introduced him to John Lilburne.<sup>144</sup> Like Larner, Overton's family were caught by representatives of the Stationers' Company and Overton noted that the City Marshall was, again, in charge of the New Prison.<sup>145</sup>

But the best source for examining the goings-on in the New Prison are the High Commission Act Books of the 1630s, now in the *State Papers*.<sup>146</sup> These describe in detail the examination and sentencing of all those considered by the High Commission, as one pamphleteer put it, 'to bee Hereticks, Sectaries, Schismatiques,

<sup>139</sup> *Lords*, IV, p. 135, p. 138; John Cordy Jeaffreson, ed., *Middlesex County Records: Volume III* (London: Woodfall and Kinder, 1888), p. 112; Tolmie, pp. 74-5.

<sup>140</sup> Anon, *The Last Warning to All the Inhabitants of London* (1646), p. 4.

<sup>141</sup> Edwards, *Gangraena*, II, p. 9.

<sup>142</sup> William Larner, *A True Relation of All the Remarkable Passages, and Illegal Proceedings of Some Sathanicall or Doeg-like Accusers of their Brethren, Against William Larner, a Free-Man of England* (1646), pp. 1-7; cf. Anon, *Every-Mans Case, or A Brotherly Support to Mr Will. Larner, Prisoner in the New Prison in Mayden-lane* (1646), passim; William Larner, *A Vindication of Every Free-Mans Libertie; Against All Arbitrary Power and Government* (1646), passim.

<sup>143</sup> Stevie Davies, *Unbridled Spirits: Women of the English Revolution, 1640-1660* (London: The Women's Press, 1998), pp. 74-6; Mary Overton, *To the Right Honourable, the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses, the Parliament of England, Assembled at Westminster, The Humble Appeale and Petition of Mary Overton, Prisoner in Bridewell* (1646), passim.

<sup>144</sup> Greaves and Zaller, II, p. 172.

<sup>145</sup> Richard Overton, *The Commoners Complaint: or, A Dreadful Warning from Newgate, to the Commons of England* (1646), pp. 16-7.

<sup>146</sup> PRO, SPD 16/261 (18th February 1634-11th February 1635); PRO, SPD 16/324 (11th February 1635 to 19th May 1636); PRO, SPD 16/434 (11th November 1639-7th December 1640); PRO, SPD 16/434A (23rd April 1640-18th June 1640). High Commission cases between 20th October 1631 and 21st June 1632 are corroborated, in less detailed form, in Gardiner, *Reports*, pp. 181-322. Prior Act Books were destroyed during the Civil War, probably at the behest of Parliament, see Roland G. Usher, *The Rise and Fall of the High Commission*, intro. Philip Tyler, rev. ed. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1968; first published, 1913), p. 367.

sedition, factious, enemies to the State'.<sup>147</sup> Though the Act Books run from 1634 to 1640, by which time many prisoners were being transferred from the New Prison, they provide useful insights into its operation. Very recently, however, a lost Act Book was discovered in Cambridge University Library which covers the period 1631 to 1634. This shows that during the early 1630s more religious radicals and subversives were committed to the New Prison, by the High Commission Court at least, than any other prison.<sup>148</sup> So one must ask why was this the case? The High Commission sentenced its malefactors to the Gatehouse, the Clink, the Fleet and Bridewell, as well as the New Prison - but why were so many *religious* prisoners sentenced to the New Prison? By answering this question, it is possible to not only examine the prisoners themselves, but the language with which they were imprisoned; and this, I will suggest, anticipates the expressly polemical language of the heresy-lists in the 1640s.

The crucial fact is that the New Prison was a bridewell or a house of correction; and specifically, a bridewell for correcting sectaries and papists. Much is known about early modern prisons, but recent works on crime and imprisonment in the period all but exclude references to recusancy and religious separatism.<sup>149</sup> Other prisons have been investigated in detail, but the New Prison itself has hitherto escaped specific examination.<sup>150</sup> Only one historian suggests, in passing, that the New Prison was a bridewell, and that is where its study has currently stopped.<sup>151</sup>

<sup>147</sup> Anon, *A Sectary Dissected, or, The Anatomie of an Independent Flie, Still Buzzing About City and Country* (1647), p. 2.

<sup>148</sup> CUL, MS Dd. ii. 21 (14th October 1631 to 13th February 1634). I am grateful to David Como for drawing this to my attention.

<sup>149</sup> John L. McMullan provides a fine historiographical overview, see 'Crime, Law and Order in Early Modern England', *The British Journal of Criminology*, 27 (1987), 252-74; *ibid.*, 'Criminal Organisation in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century London', *Social Problems*, 29 (1982), 311-23; *ibid.*, *The Canting Crew: London's Criminal Underworld 1550-1700* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University, 1984); J. A. Sharpe, *Crime in Seventeenth-Century England: A County Study* (Cambridge: CUP, 1983), p. 198; Archer, pp. 204-56; Gamini Salgado, *The Elizabethan Underworld* (Gloucester: Alan Sutton, 1984; first published 1977), p. 178, p. 181, p. 190, p. 193; Malcolm Gaskill, *Crime and Mentalities in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: CUP, 2000), pp. 33-119.

<sup>150</sup> For a bibliography of this literature, see Heather Creaton, *Bibliography of Printed Works on London History to 1939* (London: Library Association Publishing, 1994), pp. 286-8; and see Clifford Dobb, 'Life and Conditions'; *ibid.*, 'London Prisons', *Shakespeare Survey*, 17 (1964), 87-100; E. D. Pendry, *Elizabethan Prisons and Prison Scenes*, 2 vols (Salzburg: Institut Für Englische Sprache Und Literatur Universität Salzburg, 1974); L. W. Cowie, 'Bridewell', *History Today*, 23 (1973), 350-8; Joanna Innes, 'Prisons for the Poor: English Bridewells, 1555-1800', in Douglas Hay and Francis Snyder, eds, *Labour, Law, and Crime: An Historical Perspective* (London: Tavistock, 1987), pp. 42-122; Paul Griffiths, 'Overlapping Circles: Imagining Criminal Communities in London, 1545-1645', in Alexandra Shepard and Phil Withington, eds, *Communities in Early Modern England: Networks, Place, Rhetoric* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), pp. 115-33. Griffiths' book, *The First Bridewell: Petty Crime, Policing, and Prisons in London, 1545-1645*, is currently being written.

<sup>151</sup> Pendry, I, p. 31.

Bridewells existed in England between the mid-sixteenth-century and 1865 when they were closed and incorporated into the new local prison system. In the sixteenth century, they were a response to the growing numbers of beggars and vagrants who thronged urban streets. In London, city 'hospitals', such as St. Bartholomew's, St. Thomas's and Christ's were established to assist the helplessly poor (the mad, the sick, the old and small children) but Bridewell hospital was established in 1557 to deal with the 'sturdy' poor. It was called Bridewell because it was housed in the abandoned Palace of Bridewell, built by Henry VIII just outside the city walls. In this institution, whipping and imprisonment accompanied strict religious observance and lots of work, such as pin-making, weaving, spinning, packing, grinding chalk or corn, beating hemp and dredging sand.<sup>152</sup> The purpose of this was not only to punish and provide for the institution's upkeep but, along with strict religious observance, to *reform* the prisoners. By 1600, Bridewell in London held 800 inmates; similar 'bridewells' were established in many major towns; by 1630, they existed across the country. It was soon considered necessary to reform sections of society other than vagrants and beggars and one such group, concentrated in London, was the increasing number of religious separatists and papists.

The New Prison certainly appears to have been a bridewell designed to hold religious offenders. According to Pagitt, Richard Lane beat hemp there for three years.<sup>153</sup> One of the stationer's beadles, Hunscoff, allegedly demanded that William Larnier should be sentenced to beat hemp in the New Prison for six weeks before being hanged.<sup>154</sup> In 1626, a search of the prison discovered printing, binding and cutting tools which were there quite legitimately to assist the prisoners' daily tasks, but were in fact being used to produce Roman Catholic propaganda.<sup>155</sup>

Like a bridewell, spiritual if not behavioural reformation was an express purpose of the New Prison authorities. When Richard Lane, the so-called Familist, was moved to Bridewell, one John Vicars was sent after him. Vicars was the sometime parson of Stamford, Lincolnshire, and in and out of gaol throughout the 1620s and '30s for his uncompromisingly puritanical opinions. Lane the Familist,

<sup>152</sup> A. J. Copeland, 'Extracts from the Old Court Books at Bridewell Hospital from 1559 to 1634', *Under the Dome*, n. s., 11.44 (31st December 1902), 111-8; *ibid.*, 12.45 (31st March 1903), 1-10; *ibid.*, 12.46 (30th June 1903), 35-44; *ibid.*, 12.47 (30th September 1903), 67-79; *ibid.*, 12.48 (31st December 1903), 107-20.

<sup>153</sup> Pagitt, *Heresiography*, 6th edn, p. 215.

<sup>154</sup> Anon, *Every Mans Case*, p. 8.

<sup>155</sup> Pendry, I, p. 31.

however, was considered to be in need of greater spiritual correction than Vicars who was told to go 'to Bridewell to beare Lane company, and...bring him to your opinion'.<sup>156</sup> The purpose of this joint imprisonment was to use Vicars' puritanism to moderate or correct Lane's familistical convictions. A similar attempt to reform a Roman Catholic is encountered in William Laud's discovery of a rather odd marriage between 'a deepe Familist and Brownist', one Abigail Delamar, and her husband, 'a stiffe Romane Catholique'. Whilst Delamar was already imprisoned in the New Prison, her popish husband was merely 'admonished...to be more moderate, to come to church, and to meet his wife halfeway'.<sup>157</sup>

By turning to Michel Foucault, it is possible to turn this kind of prison into a model with which to examine how the process of penal incarceration anticipated the language and labelling of heresy-lists. In the early modern period, most detention was about 'security' in so far as a debtor was held until he had paid his debts and a traitor or a felon was held until a more vigorous punishment was exacted.<sup>158</sup> Bridewells, however, placed the emphasis upon reformation through industry. In *Madness and Civilisation* and *Discipline and Punish*, Foucault suggests that the bridewells marked the point at which the first prisons or, more correctly, penitentiaries were established. He claims that the 'everyday penal practice' of the bridewells was a small part before the eighteenth century of what was otherwise a 'country of tortures, dotted with wheels, gibbets, gallows [and] pillories'.<sup>159</sup> In the mid-eighteenth century, he suggests, bridewells began to form the basis of criminal incarceration as increasingly industrialised societies produced ever greater numbers of urban vagabonds and criminal poor. Though it is true that the 'everyday penal practice' of the early modern era was alien to the confined and enclosed process of correction which the 'modern' prison effects, it is equally true to suggest that the bridewells played their own role in the evolution of incarceration, correction and punishment which constitutes that process. Crucially, the use of the bridewells so widely during the early modern period runs against Foucault's assumptions about an early modern judicial system which was primarily concerned with wheels, gibbets, gallows and pillories.

<sup>156</sup> Gardiner, *Reports*, p. 238.

<sup>157</sup> Ibid., p. 300.

<sup>158</sup> Dobb, 'Life and Conditions', pp. 8-9.

<sup>159</sup> Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1991; first published in French, 1975), p. 32, p. 307; *ibid.*, *Madness and Civilisation: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason*, trans. Richard Howard (London: Routledge, 1999; first published in French, 1961), pp. 43-4.



Thus bridewells, such as the New Prison, anticipated what Foucault describes as 'procedures [which] were being elaborated for distributing individuals, fixing them in space, classifying them, extracting from them the maximum in time and forces, training their bodies, coding their continuous behaviour, maintaining them in perfect visibility [and] forming around them an apparatus of observation, registration and recording'.<sup>160</sup> These techniques, Foucault suggests, 'fabricated delinquents'.<sup>161</sup> But of course, the early modern period for Foucault saw only 'the branded, dismembered burnt, annihilated body of the tortured criminal'.<sup>162</sup> Foucault is referring to delinquents fabricated in nineteenth-century descendants of the early modern bridewells. So it is important not to project these strategies too far into the past.

An inspection of the 'everyday penal practice' of bridewells and, specifically, the New Prison, however, does seem to 'fabricate' religious prisoners. It created what Foucault calls 'a permanent grid' or tabulation in which religious prisoners were placed and perceived.<sup>163</sup> Indeed, Foucault admits that, by the eighteenth century, such 'procedures of disciplinary distribution had their place among the contemporary techniques of classification and tabulation'.<sup>164</sup> In this regard, the relevance of Foucault's work in *The Order of Things* will be discussed in subsequent chapters. I will suggest here that, in conjunction with the language of prosecution employed by the High Commission, bridewell practices in the New Prison involved a disciplinary classification which branded early modern prisoners with more than fire; they were associated with expectations, judgements and identities which radicalised and even fabricated their religious positions. Indeed, the most recent historian of Bridewell discovers 'a monsoon of criminal labels' which created 'a constructed "underworld"'.<sup>165</sup> The carceral fabrication of a penal subject, in other words, can be shown to precede Foucault's nineteenth-century penitentiary.

The emergence of bridewellian classification is easily illustrated. A judicial handbook of 1631 described the poor in the following way. Firstly, there were poor 'by casualty'; secondly, poor 'by impotency or defect'; and thirdly, the 'thriftless

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<sup>160</sup> Ibid., *Discipline*, p. 231.

<sup>161</sup> Ibid., p. 255.

<sup>162</sup> Ibid., p. 255.

<sup>163</sup> Ibid., p. 145; Pagitt, *Heresiography*, 6th edn, p. 215.

<sup>164</sup> Foucault, *Discipline*, p. 156.

<sup>165</sup> Griffiths, 'Overlapping Circles', p. 117, p. 120.



poor'. These 'thriftless poor' were the sturdy or idle poor who were confined in bridewells. They consisted of five types:

1. The riotous and prodigal person, that consumeth all with play and drinking &c.
2. The dissolute person, as the strumpet, pilferer, &c.
3. The slothful person, that refuseth to work.
4. All such as wilfully spoil or embezzle their work &c.
5. The vagabond that will abide in no service or place.<sup>166</sup>

Paul Griffiths suggests that 'labelling, licensing, marking, and discovering' were 'inevitable' responses to an otherwise amorphous criminal underworld.<sup>167</sup> Such thinking also drew upon the common compulsion to classify the inhabitants of that underworld to produce what one historian calls 'a proliferation of quasi-theatrical roles'.<sup>168</sup> William Fennor, for example, was imprisoned in the Wood Street Counter for debt in 1616. He identified four kinds of inmate: the 'subtile Citizen', the 'riotous Unthrift', the 'politicke High way-man' and the 'crafty mechanicke'.<sup>169</sup> Subtlety, riotousness, craftiness and cunning: like the types of poor described in the judicial handbook of 1631, these characteristics formed a *sectarian* stereotype. We can therefore ask whether such taxonomies, pandering to characteristics and caricatures in much the same way as heresy-lists, also reflected the language which was used to persecute and prosecute religious radicals in, specifically, the High Commission Court and the New Prison. If so, the confinement of sectaries in the New Prison and their trial in the High Commission Court not only anticipated the more extreme language and labelling of heresy-lists but showed just how widespread it was in such deep-seated cultural practices as legal procedure and nicknaming.

It is tempting to put in the mouth of the New Prison's Keeper, Robert Davison, the words of Wolf, the Keeper of the Counter in *Eastward Ho*:

<sup>166</sup> Michael Dalton, *The Countrey Justice, Containing the Practice of the Justices of the Peace out of the Sessions*, 4th edn enl. (1631; first published 1618), p. 101.

<sup>167</sup> Griffiths, 'Overlapping Circles', p. 118.

<sup>168</sup> Lawrence Manley, *Literature and Culture in Early Modern London* (Cambridge: CUP, 1995), p. 348.

<sup>169</sup> William Fennor, *The Compters Commonwealth, or A Voiage Made to an Infernall Land* (1617), p. 55; cf. Geoffrey Mynshull, *Certaine Characters and Essayes of Prison and Prisoners* (1618), C2r.

I have had of all sorts of men i'th kingdom under my keys, and almost of all religions i'the land, as: Papist, Protestant, Puritan, Brownist, Anabaptist, Millenary, Family-'o-Love, Jew, Turk, Infidel, Atheist.<sup>170</sup>

But the reality was not so cleanly categorical. Numerous priests were held in the New Prison as well as the Roman Catholic gentlemen who harboured them.<sup>171</sup> Other inmates included one John Vaughan, 'only a meere lay man', who was imprisoned for forging letters in the hand of his local bishop which gave him permission to read services and administer the sacraments.<sup>172</sup> Another inmate was a far less zealous Protestant, imprisoned for failing to have his children christened.<sup>173</sup> One John Hopkins was committed under the charge of 'contempt of Ecclesiasticall Jurisdiction'.<sup>174</sup> Sectaries were also common, but it is clear that it was failure to conform to the English Church which was at the heart of religious prosecution, not one's commitment to a particular sect, denomination or creed.

Many were imprisoned with no mention of religious denomination. Nathaniel Bernard was imprisoned for 'a seditious and schismaticall sermon' in which he accused, among other things, the Queen of 'superstition and idolatry';<sup>175</sup> John Burgess was imprisoned for 'scandalous and schismaticall speeches' against the repair of St Paul's cathedral;<sup>176</sup> John Eachard was held for maintaining 'those erroneous opinions of John Eatons' rather than 'Antinomianism' or even 'Eatonism';<sup>177</sup> Theophilus Braborne, an accomplice of John Traske, was confined for 'mainetayning and publishing hereticall Schismaticall & Judaicall Opinions' without a mention of 'Traskism' or 'Sabbatarianism'.<sup>178</sup> One Green, a tailor, was thrown into the New Prison 'for houldinge god could see no sin in his children' though no mention was made of a corresponding sectarian position such as Antinomianism.<sup>179</sup>

<sup>170</sup> George Chapman, Ben Jonson and John Marston, *Eastward Ho!*, ed. C. G. Petter (London: Ernest Benn, 1973; first published 1605), V, ii, ll. 27-31.

<sup>171</sup> CSPD, 1633-4, p. 464; CUL, MS Dd. ii. 21, fol. 12<sup>v</sup>, fol. 118<sup>v</sup>; Gardiner, *Reports*, p. 261.

<sup>172</sup> CUL, MS Dd. ii. 21, fol. 116<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>173</sup> Gardiner, *Reports*, p. 283. Gardiner records him as Francis Gibbons as well as Gibbon, see p. 277, pp. 282-3, whilst High Commission records identify him as Richard Gibbon, see MS Dd. ii. 21, fol. 116<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>174</sup> CUL, MS Dd. ii. 21, fol. 217<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>175</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 128<sup>r</sup>, cf. fol. 157<sup>r</sup>, fols 219<sup>v</sup>-20<sup>r</sup>; BL, Harley MS 1026, fol. 45<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>176</sup> CUL, MS Dd. ii. 21, fol. 146<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>177</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 113<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>178</sup> PRO, SPD 16/261, fol. 73<sup>v</sup>; CUL, MS. Dd. ii. 21, fol. 185<sup>r</sup>, cf. Theophilus Braborne, *A Defence of that Most Ancient Sacred Ordinance of Gods, the Sabbath Day* (Amsterdam, 1632).

<sup>179</sup> CSPD, 1631-4, p. 425; PRO, SPD 16/224/26, fol. 54<sup>r</sup>; Como, 'Puritans and Heretics', pp. 273-4.

The High Commission's concern was less to brand or label those examined than to determine and denounce their beliefs, practices and accomplices. This often meant forcing the examinees to take the *ex officio* oath, thus rendering them prone to incriminating themselves when answering questions truthfully. Many of those imprisoned were therefore held simply for refusing this oath rather than for specific beliefs.<sup>180</sup> A lack of labelling is also evident in heresy legislation which conspicuously omitted the names of the sects against which it was directed. The Blasphemy Act of August 1650, for example, was immediately prompted by the Ranter threat but omitted the label 'Ranter' from the text of the act which legislated against only 'divers men and women' who were 'most monstrous in their Opinions'.<sup>181</sup> Other heresy legislation was also conspicuous in its omission of labels, making an obvious point clear: the real threat of heresy was not contained in a sect's name, but in its beliefs and what those beliefs compelled its believers to do.<sup>182</sup>

But labelling did take place. In addition to holding private conventicles, dismissing hell as a fiction, Christmas as superstitious and deriding the prayerbook, John Vicars was accused of 'the Novatian heresy'. He 'preached and publickly maintayned...that whosever falleth into any sinne, and repenting him of the same if he fall into the same sinne againe' was to have no opportunity 'for repentence and, forgiveness' so that it was 'impossible for any such person to be saved'.<sup>183</sup> This unforgiving third-century theology was in fact doctrinally orthodox and third-century Novatians were excommunicated for political rather than theological reasons after Novatian himself opposed the early Church's lenience on pagans. Novatianism was therefore a notoriously hard-line, if orthodox, position and a suitable label for a minister who the High Commission considered to be 'a puritanical boy' with 'a right puritanicall opinion'.<sup>184</sup> 'Novatianism' was little more than a synonym for Vicars' rigorous adherence to Calvinism. In this way, it was an attempt to interpret and conceptualise what was considered to be a heterodox position. Elsewhere, even the

<sup>180</sup> The majority of the twenty-six Blackfriars conventiclors were held for this reason, see Gardiner, *Reports*, pp. 278-80, p. 281, pp. 284-6, pp. 292-5.

<sup>181</sup> C. H. Firth and R. S. Rait, eds, *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum 1642-1660*, 3 vols (London: His Majesty's Stationary Office, 1911), II, p. 410; cf. Keith Thomas, 'The Puritans and Adultery: the Act of 1650 Reconsidered', in Donald Pennington and Keith Thomas, eds, *Puritans and Revolutionaries: Essays in Seventeenth-Century History Presented to Christopher Hill* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1978), pp. 257-82.

<sup>182</sup> Firth and Rait, I, pp. 1133-6, II, pp. 387-9.

<sup>183</sup> CUL, MS Dd. ii. 21, fol. 17r; Gardiner, *Reports*, pp. 198-205. This John Vicars may well be the same John Vicars who in the 1640s became a militant Presbyterian and the author of several rabid attacks upon Independency.

<sup>184</sup> Gardiner, *Reports*, p. 215.

Ranters' description as Gnostic Marcionites was an approximation of their apparent dualism.<sup>185</sup> It was also an example of sectarian retrogression, a common heresiological trick used by opponents of heresy to turn a contemporary position into a much older one, whose antiquity was a measure of its dangerous and threatening nature.

Richard Lane provides another example of a strategy employed by heresy-lists. Lane purportedly claimed to be, in Pagitt's words, 'Christed with Christ, and godded with god, and consequently perfect God and perfect man'.<sup>186</sup> This is certainly familistical language on Pagitt's part and it is unsurprising that Laud had labelled Lane a 'high Familist'.<sup>187</sup> It is unknown whether Pagitt was familiar with Lane's claims at trial, though his cousin, as we shall see, was the recorder of the King's Bench and probably kept Pagitt informed about some of the trials before the High Commission Court. But had Lane's words survived in any case, we would have to be cautious. It was not unknown for an ecclesiastical court to attribute to a sectary opinions couched in, say, familistical language which revealed more about the anxieties and hostility of the court scribe than the sectaries' own beliefs.<sup>188</sup> This creates what have been called 'self-confirming cycles of accusation and stereotyping' in which the label attributed to a sectary corroborated the charges made against him and vice versa.<sup>189</sup> Polemical descriptions of heresy often used the same trick, constructing stereotypes which supported specific charges or corroborated certain claims.

Other examples exist. Laud branded Abigail Delamar, one of the Blackfriars conventiclers caught in April 1632, 'a deepe Familist and Brownist'.<sup>190</sup> The High Commission described the group as a whole as 'desperatlie hereticall', but accused them of 'schisme' rather than of specifically Familist or Brownist heresies. In fact, the Blackfriars conventiclers were what was left of Henry Jacob's church which was established around 1616. Jacob's congregation recognised the authority of rival parish churches which it permitted its members to attend, thereby locating itself *inside* rather than outside the English Church. This was known as semi-separatism. More radical separatists refused to associate with this group and this example of a semi-separatist being labelled a Familist and Brownist illustrates the discrepancies between names and

<sup>185</sup> Gilbert Roulston, *The Ranters Bible or, Seven Several Religions by Them Held and Maintained* (1650), A3v.

<sup>186</sup> Pagitt, *Heresiography*, 6th edn, p. 215.

<sup>187</sup> Gardiner, *Reports*, p. 188.

<sup>188</sup> Como and Lake, 'Puritans', p. 701.

<sup>189</sup> Ibid., p. 700.

<sup>190</sup> Gardiner, *Reports*, p. 300.

things which labels so effectively exploited and exaggerated.<sup>191</sup> Likewise, Roger Quatermayne was hauled before both the High Commission Court and the Privy Council in the early 1640s. He was a radical puritan but in frequent communion with the English Church. His only crime was to organise 'godly' conferences in Southwark and his home town in Berkshire. Yet he was accused by one Privy Councillor of being 'a Separatist, an Anabaptist, a Brownist, a Familist'.<sup>192</sup> It is unlikely that George Fox was alone in reprimanding 'a judge [who] sits there, and gives names to prisoners'.<sup>193</sup>

A final example is that of Mary Overton and her treatment by several prison staff when she was transferred from the New Prison to Bridewell. It shows that defamation and sexual slander were certainly ploys by the authorities to, quite literally, add insult to injury in the course of imprisonment:

[A]nd all the way as they went, utterly to defame her and render her infamous in the streets, the fellows which dragged and carried her on two Cudgels, call[ed] her *Strumpet* and vild *Whore*, thereby to possesse the people, that she was no woman of honest & godly Conversation, whom they so barbarously abused, but a vile strumpet of a whore, and were dragging to *Bridewell* that common shore & sink of Bawds & Whores, &c.<sup>194</sup>

This was intended 'to blast her reputation for ever' and points to several characteristics of labelling shared with heresy-lists.<sup>195</sup> Firstly, the name was (probably) wrongly attributed but, secondly, this unjust attribution was justified by a typical 'self-confirming cycle of accusation and stereotyping': Mary Overton was a strumpet because she was going to Bridewell, because Bridewell was where strumpets belonged.

Name-calling certainly operated as a means of identifying and disparaging the religious prisoners in the New Prison, as well as those on their way there in the High

<sup>191</sup> Tolmie, pp. 7-17.

<sup>192</sup> Roger Quatermayne, *Quatermayns Conquest Over Canterburies Court, or, A Briefe Declaration of Severall Passages Between Him and the Archbishop of Canterbury With Other Commissioners of the High Commission Court* (1642), p. 23; Tolmie, p. 30.

<sup>193</sup> George Fox, *The Journal*, ed. Nigel Smith (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1998; first published 1694), p. 497.

<sup>194</sup> Overton, *Complaint*, p. 19.

<sup>195</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 19.



Commission Court and those on their way from it in the hands of constables or prison staff. Judicial and carceral labelling and segregation certainly influenced the idea of a denominationally-distinct radical milieu upon which the heresy-lists of the 1640s played. Of course, heresy-lists of the 1630s illustrated a more refined or, at least, a more specific view of heresy than these judicial and penal contexts. In 1630, a Whitney minister called Giles Widdowes listed ten kinds of puritan: the Perfectist, the Sermonist, the Separatist, the Anabaptist, the Brownist, the Familist, the Precisian, the Sabbatarian, the Anti-disciplinarian and the Predestinist.<sup>196</sup> The High Commission itself also listed the heresies it pursued. In 1636, it empowered John Wragg, the messenger of the chamber, to search houses suspected of harbouring sectaries or their publications. This warrant, under which the High Commission pursued Henry Burton and William Prynne, enumerated Brownists, Anabaptists, Arians, Traskites, Familists, Sensualists and Antinomians.<sup>197</sup> The majority of the labels used in the judicial and penal processes surrounding the New Prison are not as specific or systematic as those in such heresy-lists, but they certainly compare meaningfully with them.

This is to say that sectarian labels were not simply excavated out of patristic and continental authorities, but were employed by the prosecutors and prisoners of religious radicalism in a way that heresy-lists transferred to paper and print. Sectarian labels in heresy-lists shared in the same ideology of discipline, containment and condemnation, *and* in the fabrication of religious radicalism. Indeed, heresy-lists were the *textual* forum in which so many sectaries underwent trial by paper and condemnation in print in the 1640s *after* the High Commission had been abolished and the New Prison officially closed. In this regard, it is therefore little wonder that extant records concerning the New Prison share in the same linguistic and textual processes as heresy-lists, the subject of the remainder of this dissertation.

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An examination of heretics and their heresies during the period provides a valuable point from which to study their heresiological representations. Stripped down and scrutinised, the issues surrounding heresy concern what was believed and how many believed it. In a judicial context, the doctrinal content of a heresy was only

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<sup>196</sup> Giles Widdowes, *The Schismatical Puritan* (1630), B2<sup>v</sup>-C2<sup>v</sup>.



significant in so far as it diverged from orthodox belief; in a polemical context, it was significant as a means of seeing one position as a more heterodox one. An examination of heresy in the period, moreover, affords a glimpse of the people at whom accusations of heresy were levelled and out of whom stereotypes were constructed. An account of the radical milieu itself also allows one to appreciate the contrived discrepancies between heretics as they existed and as they were depicted. An investigation into radicalism's prosecution and imprisonment, more specifically, permits one to grasp the mentality of name-calling and denunciation which so much heresiology provoked and exploited. It is from these bench-marks that one can examine seventeenth-century heresiology and the 'fabrication' of radicalism.

It remains to emphasise Pagitt's knowledge of the milieu described here. Not only was he aware of the popish threat, of the radicals in London and the sectaries surrounding his parish, but of the examination and prosecution of heresy as it occurred in the High Commission. As mentioned earlier, Pagitt's association with this scene was his cousin, Justinian, who was the Keeper of the Records of the King's Bench.<sup>198</sup> A fortunately extant Commonplace Book, belonging to Justinian, covers the period from the late 1620s to the early 1630s. Amongst idle musings, puritanical self-reproaches and assorted sermon notes, several significant themes emerge: Justinian's professional interest in religious radicalism, his knowledge of the High Commission Court and his relationship with Ephraim Pagitt.

Like Ephraim, Justinian Pagitt described a variety of 'Papall Usurpations & Puritanicall Innovations'.<sup>199</sup> He noted with interest, for example, that a Jesuit 'was heard to say beyond-sea' that if he could get near the King of England, 'he would quickly dispatch him' and that, having arrived in England, the said Jesuit was 'putt into the Gatehouse upon suspicion'.<sup>200</sup> Justinian also described radical Protestant antics. In a letter to James Harrington, he described the prohibition of William Prynne's *Histriomastix* and his examination by the High Commission.<sup>201</sup> In a letter to his uncle, he recounted the case of Nathaniel Bernard which he attended himself at the High Commission Court.<sup>202</sup> He certainly knew John Lambe, a member of the High

<sup>197</sup> *CSPD*, 1635-6, pp. 242-3.

<sup>198</sup> BL, Add. MS 47994, fol. 164<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>199</sup> BL, Harley MS 1026, fol. 58<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>200</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 55<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>201</sup> BL, Add. MS 4173, fol. 53<sup>v</sup>; cf. BL, Add. MS 4174, fol. 426<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>202</sup> BL, Harley MS 1026, fol. 45<sup>r</sup>; cf. BL, Add. MS 4173, fols 55<sup>r-v</sup>; BL, Add. MS 4174, fols 428<sup>r-v</sup>.

Commission.<sup>203</sup> Courts and prisons were never far from Justinian's mind and he would visit Pagitt every week or two, at least over the month or so for which diary entries exist in his commonplace book. It is tempting to believe that their conversation concerned subjects which appealed to both men: popery and the prosecution of sectaries in the ecclesiastical courts.<sup>204</sup> It is therefore very likely that Pagitt was aware of unembellished 'real' heretics as they were prosecuted and imprisoned in the High Commission and Star Chamber. He certainly knew about the New Prison, Maiden Lane.

It is from this point that we can examine how Pagitt and his fellow heresiologists represented and examined religious radicalism. But just as it is important to embed heresy in its context before exploring its fabrication, and to draw attention to the relevance of heresiology, so it is necessary to examine Ephraim Pagitt in more detail in order to discover why he represented heresy the way he did, and why he is worthy of study.

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<sup>203</sup> BL, Harley MS 1026, fol. 55r.

<sup>204</sup> *Ibid.*, fols 78v-82v.

## II

### Ephraim Pagitt: Home, Hearth, and Heresiology

The *Dictionary of National Biography* records only one 'heresiographer': Ephraim Pagitt.<sup>1</sup> One historian rightly calls him 'the prolific Civil War heresiographer'.<sup>2</sup> Pagitt has been largely neglected, however, because scholars have often failed to recognise heresiology as a distinct mode of writing in the seventeenth century. He assumes a bit-part in numerous articles and books, rarely emerging from footnotes and never himself the object of study. Historians, both past and present, have failed to refer correctly to the evolution and expansion of his writings and none notice that Pagitt himself was dead by 1646.<sup>3</sup> William Lamont even confuses Ephraim Pagitt with his cousin, Justinian.<sup>4</sup> Christopher Hill is the only historian to acknowledge that Pagitt died soon after the first edition of *Heresiography* was printed and is unique in acknowledging that a 'continuator' was responsible for additions to the text after Pagitt's death.<sup>5</sup> Indeed, of all the Civil War heresy-lists, *Heresiography* was rushed through the most editions; of all the Civil War heresiologists, it is Pagitt who most exemplifies the fictionalising and hyperbolic strategies which many of them employed. I will show that Ephraim Pagitt was more than what David Masson wrongly calls 'a good old silly man, of whom people made fun'.<sup>6</sup> On the contrary, he was a widely-known crusader against heresy. He held passionate convictions, virulent prejudices and identified himself with the cause he championed, his cherished English Church.

<sup>1</sup> DNB, XXXXIII, p. 65. Pagitt's surname was spelt Pagit, Paget, Pagett or Pagget but I have used his apparently favoured spelling. The *New Dictionary of National Biography*, where he will be known as a 'heresiologist', will refer to Pagitt as 'Pagett' since that was the spelling of his name as recorded at the time of death and therefore the variant which the *New DNB* prefers, see Simon Dyton, 'Ephraim Pagett', in the *New Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: OUP, forthcoming [2004]).

<sup>2</sup> Finlayson, 'Puritanism', p. 221, my emphasis.

<sup>3</sup> For example, John Stoughton, *Ecclesiastical History of England, from the Opening of the Long Parliament to the Death of Oliver Cromwell*, 2 vols (London: Jackson, Walford, and Hodder, 1867), II, p. 365; Huehns, p. 46, p. 63, p. 79, p. 137; Morton, p. 91; Christopher Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1991; first published 1972), p. 74, p. 205, p. 227; *ibid.*, *Change and Continuity in Seventeenth-Century England*, rev. ed. (New Haven: Yale University, 1991; first published 1974), p. 40; J. F. McGregor, 'Seekers and Ranters', in J. F. McGregor and B. Reay, eds, *Radical Religion in the English Revolution* (Oxford: OUP, 1984), pp. 122-39, p. 121; Davis, *Fear, Myth and History*, p. 123; Jerome Friedman, *Blasphemy, Immorality, and Anarchy: The Ranters and the English Revolution* (Ohio: Ohio University, 1987), p. 255; Gucer, p. 75, p. 79, p. 93.

<sup>4</sup> William M. Lamont, *Puritanism and the English Revolution: Volume I, Marginal Prynne, 1660-1669*, repr. (Aldershot: Gregg Revivals, 1991; first published 1963), p. 29, p. 32.

<sup>5</sup> Hill, 'Abolishing the Ranters', p. 166.

<sup>6</sup> Masson, III, p. 140.

### A Puritan Upbringing

Ephraim Pagitt was born into 'a genteel family in Northamptonshire', probably in Lamport.<sup>7</sup> He was baptised at Wold (Old), Northamptonshire, on 28th May 1574.<sup>8</sup> The family was well-connected. Pagitt's paternal grandmother (Katherine Paget, née Isham) was a member of a well-established Northamptonshire family. She was the sister of the knight and baronet, John Isham, the Sheriff of Northamptonshire.<sup>9</sup> We have already met Pagitt's cousin, Justinian Pagitt, who was the Recorder of the Court of King's Bench. The family home in Lamport was probably near Lamport Hall. Eusebius, his father, was John Isham's nephew. John Isham was Eusebius' patron as the incumbent of the rectory at Wold. Eusebius was, in the words of one historian, a 'famous puritan preacher', matriculating at Christ Church, Oxford, at the age of twelve in 1564.<sup>10</sup> Patrick Collinson calls him one of the 'major figures in the puritan movement in the Midlands'.<sup>11</sup> Indeed, Northamptonshire was known to have a 'radical nature' and Northampton itself was 'an important puritan centre'.<sup>12</sup> In 1584, for example, Archbishop Whitgift demanded that ministers subscribe to the *Book of Common Prayer* and almost a third of ministers in the local diocese of Peterborough refused.<sup>13</sup> Eusebius married one Anne Gyles and Ephraim was probably born whilst his family lived in Lamport a decade later. Ephraim had a brother and a sister, Katherine and Nathaniel, who both died in the year in which they were born (1573 and 1589 respectively).<sup>14</sup>

Pagitt referred to more numerous siblings in his earliest work, a translation of twenty-eight Latin sermons on the Book of Ruth. Originally written in Latin by Ludwig Lavater, Pagitt translated them at the age of eleven. Though he claimed responsibility for the translation himself, Anthony à Wood suggests that the translator

<sup>7</sup> Wood, III, p. 210.

<sup>8</sup> Henry Isham Longden, *Northamptonshire and Rutland Clergy from 1500*, 15 vols (Northampton: Archer & Goodman, 1938-43), X, p. 141. The local registers of births do not begin until 1587.

<sup>9</sup> Oswald Barron, ed., *The Victoria History of the Counties of England: History of Northamptonshire, Genealogical Volume Northamptonshire Families* (London: Archibald Constable and Co., 1906), a genealogy is interpolated between pages 166 and 167.

<sup>10</sup> W. J. Sheils, 'The Puritans in the Diocese of Peterborough 1558-1610', *Publications of the Northamptonshire Record Society*, n. s., 30 (1979), p. 23; DNB, XXXXIII, p. 65.

<sup>11</sup> Patrick Collinson, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement* (London: Methuen, 1967), p. 143.

<sup>12</sup> Sheils, p. 6, p. 127.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., p. 49.

<sup>14</sup> Longden, X, p. 143.

was another Ephraim Pagitt, possibly an uncle.<sup>15</sup> Even John Milton did not translate psalms until the age of 15. The book includes a dedication, written by the young Pagitt, which addresses his several nannies and surrogate mother-figures, 'noble Ladies and grave Matrons', suggesting that he spent much of his time close to the affluence of the Isham household. He thanked them 'for the comfort which I, my brother & Sisters (poor children) have received by the kindenes which hath often come from you to us & our parents in our necessities'.<sup>16</sup> Pagitt's mention of his 'brother & Sisters' is intriguing.

One explanation for Pagitt's indiscriminate use of family labels is the characteristic habit of endowing close friends and distant relations with the nominal status of immediate family.<sup>17</sup> Nehemiah Wallington, for example, considered his apprentice and three servants to be family members. Wallington also consistently failed to use the distinction 'in-law' to differentiate between blood relatives and those acquired through marriage.<sup>18</sup> Pagitt's 'brother & Sisters' were perhaps no more than other children of the household, such as cousins or close friends. Indeed, his use of all-encompassing family terms continued into later life because it was a verbal convention rather than an indication of otherwise unrecorded family members. In his will, he recorded his son-in-law as a son, a friend's daughter as his own daughter and a bookseller as a brother.<sup>19</sup> 'Brother', at least, was a common way of signifying close spiritual attachment to fellow believers who were often known as 'brethren'.<sup>20</sup> Pagitt's use of such words as a child would be precocious, but he *was* translating Latin sermons at the age of eleven; as an adult - and indeed as the fiercely dogmatic and partisan adult which he was - it would be quite expected.

Eusebius was a great influence upon Pagitt. He was a puritan minister who Benjamin Brook calls 'a great sufferer of nonconformity'.<sup>21</sup> In 1574, he was arrested for taking part in Presbyterian associations in Northamptonshire and Warwickshire and was deprived of his living. John Isham neglected to fill the vacancy in the hope

<sup>15</sup> Pagitt, *Wolfe*, A2r; Wood, III, p. 211.

<sup>16</sup> Ludwig Lavater, *The Book of Ruth Expounded in Twenty Eight Sermons* (1586), fol. 2v, fols 2r-3r.

<sup>17</sup> Naomi Tadmor, 'The Concept of the Household-Family in Eighteenth-Century England', *P&P*, 151 (1996), 111-40, *passim*.

<sup>18</sup> Seaver, *Wallington's World*, pp. 79-80.

<sup>19</sup> FRC, Reel Prob. 11/200, fol. 227r; cf. Longden, X, p. 141; H. G. Aldis et al, *A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers in England, Scotland and Ireland, and of Foreign Printers of English Books 1557-1640* (London: Blades, East & Blades, 1910), p. 256; T. C. Dale, *The Inhabitants of London in 1638*, 2 vols (London: The Society of Genealogists, 1931), I, p. 53;

<sup>20</sup> Collinson, *Religion*, p. 253.

<sup>21</sup> Brook, III, p. 62.



that Eusebius would be restored.<sup>22</sup> But this was not to be. Having gained the rectory of Kilkhampton, Cornwall, in 1579, Eusebius was suspended for refusing to use the prayer-book and failing to observe ceremonies and then, in 1585, was again deprived for ignoring the suspension, misusing the surplice and the cross during baptisms and omitting parts of set prayers.<sup>23</sup> Cornwall was notorious for resisting godly evangelising but, together with the local schoolmaster who was a fiery Scottish Presbyterian called David Black, Eusebius turned the area, in the words of Patrick Collinson, 'upside down'.<sup>24</sup> Subsequently, he worked as a schoolmaster in Heston and Deptford and, by the late 1590s, was lecturing in London at St Botolph's Church, Aldgate. He was so popular that regular parishioners were unable to occupy their own pews due to the crowds in the church and, after being temporarily suspended for failing to obtain a proper license, he became the incumbent of the parish in 1598.<sup>25</sup> He remained at St Botolph's until 1604 when he obtained the rectory of St. Anne and St. Agnes, London, which he held until his death in 1617.

Eusebius Pagit's writings tell us much about his character and, more importantly, a great deal about his son's childhood. Eusebius was a fanatical catechiser amongst John Isham's household in Northamptonshire, taking great pride in indoctrinating gentlemen, yeoman, horsekeepers, shepherds, carters, milkmaids, kitchen boys and all but the most 'mean & simple' sort. For one hour each evening, prayers were said, psalms were recited and catechisms, such as his *Short Questions and Answaeres Conteyning the Summe of Christian Religion*, learned.<sup>26</sup> He also wrote a *Historie of the Bible* which took the form of a children's catechism. This dealt with each book of the Bible in succession, emphasising particular points of factual and doctrinal detail. It originated in Eusebius' interrogations of his own children after meals and the reader's preface includes material which sheds considerable light upon Ephraim's religious instruction as a little boy. Eusebius revealed that as soon as his children could speak, he would read a chapter from the Old Testament at dinner and one from the New Testament at supper. Along with any

<sup>22</sup> Sheils, p. 31.

<sup>23</sup> DNB, XXXXIII, pp. 65-6.

<sup>24</sup> Cressy, *Travesties*, p. 146; Collinson, *Puritan Movement*, p. 276.

<sup>25</sup> Paul S. Seaver, *The Puritan Lectureships: The Politics of Religious Dissent 1560-1662* (Stanford: Stanford University, 1970), p. 219, p. 344.

<sup>26</sup> Eusebius Pagit, *Short Questions and Answaeres Conteyning the Summe of Christian Religion* (1579), A3<sup>r-v</sup>, passim. This has been attributed to Robert Openshaw, but Eusebius' authorship is established by the 1586 edition, see Collinson, *Religion*, pp. 233-4; Christopher Haigh, *English Reformations: Religion, Politics, and Society Under the Tudors* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1993), p. 278.



nearby servants, they were then interrogated, Eusebius wrote, for 'such observations as I thought fit for their capacitie & understanding, and by their answers to my questions, I daily tooke an account how they understood and retained the same in memorie'.<sup>27</sup> *The Historie of the Bible* was extremely popular, going through twelve editions between 1602 and 1682. It was translated into French and German and was not the only book by Eusebius with continental appeal.<sup>28</sup> He was responsible for at least one work in Latin, a feat which Pagitt himself later sought to achieve.<sup>29</sup>

Eusebius also published several sermons and translated Calvin's commentaries on the synoptic gospels.<sup>30</sup> Pagitt no doubt sought to emulate a father whose publishing and ministerial career were of note, if not of national significance. Even Pagitt's propensity for the epithetic 'Old *Ephraim Pagitt*' was anticipated by his father who signed himself 'lame Eusebius Pagit' after breaking his arm as a youth by dropping a ceremonial plate during a religious service at Oxford.<sup>31</sup> This severe, rigorous and pious father undoubtedly influenced the rector of St. Edmund the King, Lombard Street, whose own ministry, which he obtained in 1601, was only minutes away from that of his father.

Like Eusebius, Pagitt entered Christ Church College, Oxford. He matriculated on 25th May 1593, aged eighteen.<sup>32</sup> He made no mention of his university days, though his linguistic skills were such that as soon as he matriculated, his Greek professor 'desir'd his acquaintance [and] his help and assistance in several Languages'.<sup>33</sup> There is no evidence of his graduation, but he may have remained at Oxford to enlarge his knowledge of languages. By the time he was admitted to St Edmund the King, he could allegedly read and write fifteen or sixteen different tongues. These included Latin, Greek, 'most of the Oriental', High Dutch, Low Dutch, French, Italian, Spanish, Polish, Slav 'and other Tongues',<sup>34</sup> including at least

<sup>27</sup> Eusebius Pagit, *The Historie of the Bible*, 2nd edn (Cambridge, 1605), ¶2<sup>r-v</sup>.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., *L'Histoire de la Sainte Écriture de Vieil et du Nouveau Testament en Forme de Catechisme* (n.p., 1675); ibid., *Histoire der Heilige Schrituure, op de Wyze Van un Catechismus* (n.p., 1705).

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., *Catechismus Latine Aeditus, Authore Magistro Nathanaele Baxtero, Londini* (1585).

<sup>30</sup> Eusebius Pagit, *A Godlie and Fruiteful Sermon Made Upon the 20. & 21. Verses of the 14. Chapter of the Booke of Genesis* (1583); ibid., *A Verie Fruitful Sermon, Necessary to be Read...Concerning Predestination* (1583); ibid., *A Godly Sermon: Preached at Detford in Kent, on Monday the ix. of June in Anno. 1572* (1586); John Calvin, *Gospels, Harmonies, English*, trans. Eusebius Pagit (1584).

<sup>31</sup> Pagitt, *Heresiography*, 1st edn, B2<sup>v</sup>; Collinson, *Puritan Movement*, p. 143; DNB, XXXXIII, p. 65.

<sup>32</sup> Wood, III p. 210. I am grateful to Judith Curthoys for confirming this by consulting the college's archives.

<sup>33</sup> Pagitt, *Heresiography*, 6th edn, (a)1<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., (a)1<sup>v</sup>.

Hebrew, Russian and Welsh.<sup>35</sup> The proof of this was a polyglot 'frame', illustrating the range of Pagitt's languages, 'wherein the Grounds of Divinity are laid down by way of Analysis'. Justinian proudly showed this to Pagitt's bookseller, William Lee.<sup>36</sup> In contrast, Milton mastered only ten languages.<sup>37</sup> Christ Church, Oxford, was known during the period for its 'loyal churchmanship' but to determine Pagitt's own religious position more accurately, it is necessary to delve more deeply into his beliefs and writings.<sup>38</sup>

### An Old Protestant in Seventeenth-Century London

In 1647, a short poem was printed, entitled *The Old Protestants Letanie*. It lamented the Civil War, the fall of the King, the exile of the royal family, the loss of the traditional liturgy, the collapse of episcopacy and the emergence of assorted sectaries. One verse ran:

That thou wilt be pleased againe to restore  
All things in due order, as they were before,  
That the Church and State may be vexed no more.<sup>39</sup>

Pagitt was one 'Old Protestant' who certainly sought to restore 'things in due order'. These 'Old Protestants' have been neglected actors in the turbulence of the 1630s and '40s though important work has been undertaken by several historians. Judith Maltby examines what she calls the 'Old Conformity' of one Christopher Harvey, a Warwickshire minister, while others (notably John Morrill and Ian Green) examine the wider issues and events surrounding the sufferings of traditional ministers during the 1640s.<sup>40</sup> Pagitt exemplifies this 'Old Conformity'. Though a minister during the

<sup>35</sup> Pagitt often attached Hebrew marginalia to his texts, and had a limited knowledge of Russian and Welsh, see *Christianographie*, 1st edn, I, pp. 80-2; *ibid.*, 2nd edn, I, p. 87.

<sup>36</sup> Pagitt, *Heresiography*, 6th edn, (a)1<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>37</sup> John K. Hale, *Milton's Languages: The Impact of Multilingualism on Style* (Cambridge: CUP, 1997), pp. 7-8.

<sup>38</sup> Hugh Trevor-Roper, *Christ Church, Oxford: The Portrait of a College*, 3rd edn (Hertford: Stephen Austin & Sons, 1989), p. 7; Henry L. Thompson, *Christ Church* (London: F. E. Robinson and Co., 1900), pp. 26-34.

<sup>39</sup> Thomas Alleyn, *The Old Protestants Letanie: Against All Sectaries, and their Defendants, Both Presbyterians, and Independents* (1647), p. 3.

<sup>40</sup> Judith Maltby, 'From Temple to Synagogue: "Old" Conformity in the 1640s-1650s and the Case of Christopher Harvey', in Lake and Questier, eds, pp. 88-120; John Morrill, 'The Church in England, 1642-9', in *ibid.*, ed., *Reactions to the English Civil War, 1642-49* (London: Macmillan, 1982), pp. 89-114; *ibid.*, 'The Religious Context of the English Civil War', *TRHS*, 5th series, 34 (1984), pp. 155-78; *ibid.*,

seventeenth century, he looked back into the sixteenth to shape his conception of church discipline and doctrine. As one historian of puritanism writes, 'In the quest for truth, theology faced backward rather than forward'.<sup>41</sup> It is the issue of Pagitt's puritanism here which is problematic since the puritanism espoused by his father was a different one to that which existed in the 1640s. As another historian writes: 'A Puritan in the 1570s was a far cry from one eighty years later'.<sup>42</sup>

Unlike his father, Pagitt never attacked the liturgy, openly campaigned against episcopacy or attacked ministerial vestments. He was hardly a puritan according to some of the defining documents of puritanism such as the *Admonition to Parliament* of 1572.<sup>43</sup> He was, however, sympathetic to the puritan cause. Unlike many episcopalian Calvinists in England, he was not alienated by the Synod of Dort which many English divines considered too radical a church council.<sup>44</sup> Neither did Pagitt use the pejorative term 'puritan' in his writings. A survey of some of the historiography on this issue helps to pin down Pagitt's position. Is Pagitt the 'Old Protestant' a puritan?

The debate over puritanism's political, theological and economic dimensions is considerable and an account here would be both lengthy and superfluous.<sup>45</sup> Recent years, however, have witnessed much discussion over what a 'puritan' actually was. This discussion has generated a spectrum of opinions, on one extreme of which puritans have been nearly defined out of existence and, on the other, characterised perhaps too broadly. Ideas put forward by Peter Lake and Patrick Collinson form two such extremes. Collinson suggests that militant puritanism was attributed to those members of the godly considered by many to be particularly hot kinds of Protestant. He suggests that 'Puritans were Protestants as they were perceived in a particular set

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'The Attack on the Church of England in the Long Parliament, 1640-1642', in Derek Beales and Geoffrey Best, eds, *History, Society and the Churches: Essays in Honour of Owen Chadwick* (Cambridge: CUP, 1985), pp. 105-24, esp. pp. 120-4; Ian Green, 'The Persecution of "Scandalous" and "Malignant" Parish Clergy During the English Civil War', *EHR*, 94 (1979), 507-31; John Spurr, *The Restoration Church of England, 1646-1689* (New Haven: Yale University, 1991), pp. 1-28.

<sup>41</sup> Theodore Dwight Bozeman, *To Live Ancient Lives: The Primitive Dimension in Puritanism* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1988), p. 19.

<sup>42</sup> Finlayson, *Historians*, p. 4.

<sup>43</sup> Rev. C. E. Douglas and W. H. Frere, eds, *Puritan Manifestoes: A Study of the Origins of the Puritan Revolt* (London: SPCK, 1954), pp. 1-55.

<sup>44</sup> Anthony Milton, *Catholic and Reformed: The Roman and Protestant Churches in English Protestant Thought 1600-1640* (Cambridge: CUP, 1995), pp. 418-24.

<sup>45</sup> Useful overviews are provided by Richard L. Greaves, 'The Puritan-Nonconformist Tradition in England, 1560-1700', *Albion*, 17 (1985), 449-86; William Lamont, *Puritanism and Historical Controversy* (London: UCL, 1996), pp. 55-193. Following the precedent set by much recent scholarship, I have not capitalised the word 'puritan' or its variants.

of circumstances', involving church ritual, the liturgy, the nature of vestments and religious festivals.<sup>46</sup> Puritans, in short, were misunderstood Protestants. He hesitates to argue that they 'had no real existence, belonging in the eye of the beholder', but suggests that puritans *qua* puritans did not exist since they 'suffered *the name* as an objectionable stigma'.<sup>47</sup> Peter Lake, on the other hand, considers puritanism to be more tangible: 'an ideological entity' in 'constant dialogue' with Reformed tradition, Calvinism, radical sects and popular spirituality.<sup>48</sup> Critically, both definitions emphasise that puritanism must be defined in relation to the contexts in which it existed. Changing times therefore meant changing definitions. Nicholas Tyacke rightly suggests that puritans sought further Protestant reforms only until the early seventeenth century and it was afterwards that they were identified as conservative (and even oppositional) Calvinists as the English Church gathered Arminian and Laudian momentum.<sup>49</sup> Aggressive, active puritanism turned into conservative, reactionary Calvinism. When Presbyterianism came to the fore in the 1640s, some of those puritans also resisted liturgical and ecclesiastical reform. Pagitt was such a 'puritan'.

Ann Hughes combines both Collinson's insistence that 'puritan' is a label together with Lake's valuable reminder that whatever is being labelled contained ideological content: 'Puritans if we wish to use the label, were those whose commitment to the conventional attitudes and values of English Protestantism was particularly intense'.<sup>50</sup> Hughes is in fact recalling the wisdom of James I who suggested that 'fire-brands' and 'incendiaries' existed amongst both Protestants and Catholics, one side calling them puritans and the other Jesuits.<sup>51</sup> In 1641, Henry Parker defined a 'Puritan' according to his 'fiery zeale and rigour' so that a Jesuit was a 'Popish Puritan' and a puritan a 'Protestant Jesuite'.<sup>52</sup> Here, zeal rather than doctrine was an indication of puritanism and Pagitt was certainly a zealot, committed

<sup>46</sup> Patrick Collinson, *The Puritan Character: Polemics and Polarities in Early Seventeenth-Century English Culture* (Pasadena: The Castle Press, 1989), p. 29, *passim*.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 12, my emphasis.

<sup>48</sup> Peter Lake, 'The Problem of Puritanism', paper for 'The Worlds of John Winthrop: England and New England, 1588-1649' Conference, Millersville University, Pennsylvania, 17-18th September 1999, p. 19. I am grateful to Patrick Collinson for providing me with a copy of this paper; cf. *ibid.*, 'Puritan Identities', *JEH*, 35 (1984), 112-23, *passim*.

<sup>49</sup> Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists*, p. 8, *passim*.

<sup>50</sup> Ann Hughes, 'Introduction', *JBS*, 39 (2000), 1-7, p. 2.

<sup>51</sup> James I, *The Workes of the Most High and Mightie Prince, James* (1616), p. 330, p. 305.

<sup>52</sup> Henry Parker, *A Discourse Concerning Puritans: A Vindication of Those, Who Unjustly Suffer by the Mistake, Abuse, and Misapplication of that Name* (1641), p. 50.

to what Hughes calls 'the conventional attitudes and values of English Protestantism'. In light of such contemporary definitions which permit a 'puritanical' commitment to established forms of belief, Pagitt may be identified as a conservative puritan.

Pagitt has also been called 'a moderate puritan'.<sup>53</sup> This is a term defined and developed by Peter Lake who suggests that it is 'a valuable corrective to views of "puritanism" as an entirely oppositionist force centred on the classis movement and continually teetering on the edge of open separation'.<sup>54</sup> But Lake's 'moderate puritans' were a group of scholars and divines in the 1580s and '90s who were dissatisfied with the Elizabethan Settlement and sought further reform by working within the English church. They sought to 'retain both their self-image as "puritans"...and their active role within the established church'.<sup>55</sup> Unlike Pagitt, their conservatism was limited to operating within the Elizabethan institutions of the late sixteenth century which it was their express purpose to reform. Pagitt, on the other hand, clung to Elizabethan Protestantism in the mid-seventeenth century, amidst those reforms which such puritans had hoped to achieve a generation earlier. Like a moderate puritan, therefore, Pagitt sat uncomfortably in his own time. But unlike a moderate puritan who integrated his own 'puritan' opinions into the institutions of the Elizabethan Settlement, Pagitt incorporated the Elizabethan Settlement into the 'puritan' milieu of the 1640s. As moderate puritans looked forwards to further reform, Pagitt looked backwards to the Elizabethan and Jacobean Church. A more accurate term for Pagitt is a conservative puritan or an 'Old Protestant'.

\*

Pagitt led a peaceful life in the parish of St. Edmund the King where his church was small and stood upon a narrow lane in the heart of the capital. David Masson calls him a 'well-known personage in London' and Benjamin Brook suggests that he was 'an excellent preacher'.<sup>56</sup> In 1602, he married one Jane Rogers, the daughter of a goldsmith. They had two children, Ephraim and Elizabeth, both of whom grew up to marry. Jane died and Pagitt married again. His second wife, Ann,

<sup>53</sup> Como, 'Puritans and Heretics', p. 17.

<sup>54</sup> Peter Lake, *Moderate Puritans and the Elizabethan Church* (Cambridge: CUP, 1982), p. 280.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 1-4.

<sup>56</sup> Masson, III, p. 138; Brook, III, p. 63.



bore a daughter but Ann died and was buried in 1621.<sup>57</sup> In 1632, Pagitt married Mary, the widow of Sir Stephen Bord, but had no more children.<sup>58</sup> 'If he had proceeded no further', reminisced the bookseller William Lee, Pagitt 'might perhaps have enjoyed the Worlds content'.<sup>59</sup>

Pagitt was known to be 'a great converser with travellers' and 'a great hater of the Pope'.<sup>60</sup> These interests prompted him, in 1635, to plunge into the world of anti-popery and Protestant internationalism by writing *Christianographie*. This text grew out of a two-hour long sermon which, according to the commonplace book of Justinian Pagitt, was delivered by Pagitt from his pulpit at 10 o'clock in the morning on the 2nd January 1633.<sup>61</sup> *Christianographie* espoused a Reformed pan-Christian internationalism which sought to alienate and ostracise Roman Catholicism by excluding only the Roman Church from the true 'Catholique' church of Christ. Pagitt described the 'true' Church spreading across the whole world in opposition to Rome. Pagitt's argument was a geographical extension of the Two Churches Protestant vision of history, popularised in England by John Bale, John Foxe, William Harrison and the continental reformers Bullinger and Melancthon.<sup>62</sup>

The accusations which Pagitt levelled at Roman Catholicism were common in much anti-popery.<sup>63</sup> Though Anthony Milton argues that *Christianographie*'s fidelity to the doctrine of the Two Churches is suspect because it disintegrated a monolithic representation of the Reformed faith into a series of 'particular institutional churches all outwardly professing Christianity', Pagitt's individuation of churches was only to stack them up against popery.<sup>64</sup> In fact, Pagitt followed the likes of Edward Brerewood and Samuel Purchas who argued that the Eastern Churches agreed with

<sup>57</sup> A. G. Matthews, *Walker Revised: Being a Revision of John Walker's 'Sufferings of the Clergy During the Grand Rebellion 1642-60'* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1988; first published 1948), p. 55.

<sup>58</sup> Longden, X, p. 141.

<sup>59</sup> Pagitt, *Heresiography*, 6th edn, (a)2v.

<sup>60</sup> *The Hartlib Papers Electronic Edition*, University of Sheffield (n. p.: Verity Inc., 1988-93), *Ephemerides*, Part 3 (1635), 29/3/24v.

<sup>61</sup> BL, Harley MS 1026, fol. 76v.

<sup>62</sup> John Bale, *The Image of Bothe Churches* (1548; [facsimile] Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1973), passim; G. J. R. Parry, *A Protestant Vision: William Harrison and the Reformation of Elizabethan England* (Cambridge: CUP, 1987), pp. 3-57, esp. p. 14; Annabel Patterson, *Reading Holinshead's Chronicles* (London: University of Chicago, 1994), passim; David Loades, 'Introduction: John Foxe and the Editors', in *ibid.*, ed., *John Foxe and the English Reformation* (Aldershot: Scolar, 1977), pp. 1-11; Glyn Parry, 'John Foxe, "Father of Lyes", and the Papists', in Loades, ed., pp. 295-305.

<sup>63</sup> Peter Lake provides a useful overview of anti-popery, see 'Anti-popery: the Structure of a Prejudice', in Richard Cust and Ann Hughes, eds, *The English Civil War* (London: Arnold, 1997), pp. 181-210, passim; Clifton, 'Fear of Popery', pp. 146-51; Milton, *Catholic*, pp. 173-228.

<sup>64</sup> Milton, *Catholic*, p. 131.



the Reformed Churches of western Europe.<sup>65</sup> *Christianographie*'s distinction, rather, lies in its appearance, to use Thomas Browne's words, as 'a Geography of Religions'.<sup>66</sup> Pagitt included numerous maps and *Christianographie* appears more like an atlas than a religious polemic. Its broadside publisher's prospectus was little more than a map itself.<sup>67</sup>

*Christianographie* appeared in two further and successively enlarged editions in 1636 and 1640. The third edition was reissued in 1674, in the wake of Parliament forcing Charles II to withdraw the Declaration of Indulgence and sign the Test Act excluding Catholics from office in England. Figure 1 (overleaf) illustrates the rapid growth of each edition, together with a full explanation of the discontinuous system of pagination which corresponds to sets of gatherings. Each edition was composed of separate 'parts' and, within these 'parts', chapters divided the text into clearly defined portions which provided the impetus and direction of the polemic. Each chapter divided again into sections and sub-headings; each edition grew as chapters expanded and moved.

*Christianographie*'s Protestant internationalism also prompted Pagitt to write a series of letters to Christian patriarchs. He commended to their notice Elias Petley's Greek translation of the English prayer-book and William Laud's disputation with the Jesuit, John Fisher.<sup>68</sup> An abbreviated version of *Christianographie* which was entitled *A Relation of the Christians in the World* appeared in 1639. This is closely related to two Latin manuscripts of *Christianographie* which exist in the Harley Collection in the British Library.<sup>69</sup> These are working copies of a Latin edition which Pagitt intended to have published on the continent. Yet no trace of a Latin (continued, p. 63)

<sup>65</sup> Ibid., pp. 378-80.

<sup>66</sup> Thomas Browne, *The Major Works*, ed. C. A. Patrides (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1977), p. 61.

<sup>67</sup> Ephraim Pagitt, *A Description of the Description of the Multitude of Christians in the World* (1635), single sheet.

<sup>68</sup> Pagitt addresses the Patriarchs of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem, Moscow, of the Maronites, Prince Radziwil of Poland and John Tolnai of Transylvania. The letters themselves exist in variously English, Latin, Greek and Syriac copies, one of which is dated 22nd May 1635, cf. BL, Harley MS 825, fol. 41r, passim.

<sup>69</sup> BL, Harley MSS 823 and 824. The *Harleian MS Catalogue* contains minimal information about them, see Anon, *A Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts, in the British Library*, 4 vols (n.p.: by command of King George III, 1808), I, pp. 449-50. The dedications in both *A Relation of the Christians in the World* and the Harley MSS are in Latin, dedicated to Laud and are written in similar language. *A Relation* also contains a printed diagram of the world's Christians inserted between pages 4 and 5 which is also contained in MS 823, fol. 12r. MS 824 contains inserted extracts from the second edition of *Christianographie*, such as lists of bishops and patriarchs.

Figure 1. *Christianographie's* Structure

1635 edition		1636 edition		1640 edition	
4 <sup>o</sup> : $\pi^2$ A <sup>4</sup> a-b <sup>4</sup> B-V <sup>4</sup> X <sup>2</sup> Aa-Ii <sup>4</sup> 2 $\chi^2$		4 <sup>o</sup> : a-b <sup>4</sup> c <sup>2</sup> B <sup>4</sup> E-F <sup>4</sup> E-Z <sup>4</sup> & <sup>2</sup> Aa-Ll <sup>4</sup> Aaa-Ooo <sup>4</sup> Ppp <sup>2</sup>		2 <sup>o</sup> : A <sup>4</sup> a <sup>4</sup> B-Z <sup>4</sup> Aa-Nn <sup>4</sup> Aaa-Hhh <sup>4</sup> Aaaa-Dddd <sup>4</sup>	
				I. i	Dedication to Charles I (removed in 1674).
I. i	Dedication to the Bishop of Ely.	I. i	→	I. ii	→
I. ii	Reader's Preface.	I. ii	→	I. iii	→
I. iii	Contents.	I. iii	→	I. iv	→
I. 1	The 'severall sortes' of Christians in the world.	I. 1	→	I. 1	→
I. 2	Christians' 'severall habitations'.	I. 2	→	I. 2	→
I. 3	The Reformed churches' Protestant consensus, and their opposition to Roman Catholicism.	I. 3	→	I. 3	Differences between Protestantism and Roman Catholicism.
				I. 4	Similarities between the Reformed churches.
I. 4	The similarity of the Reformed churches' confessions.	I. 4	→	I. 5	Numerous liturgies of the Reformed churches.
				I. 6	Rites and ceremonies of the Reformed churches.
				I. 7	Differences between the Reformed churches.
I. 5	The differences and lack of unity within the Roman Catholic Church.	I. 5	→	I. 8	→
I. 6	How the Ancient Roman, Eastern, Southern and Reformed churches all agree, proving their own antiquity and Rome's relative novelty.	I. 6	→	I. 9	→
I. 7	The religion of the 'Antient Britaines' and its differences to that of Rome.	See Chapter (15) below.			
				I. 10	A defence of the Reformed churches' differences.
I. 8	The 'Devotion and pietie' of the Reformed churches.	I. 8	→	I. 11	→
				I. 12	A defence of the Reformed churches 'Devotion and pietie'.
II. 9	Roman Catholicism's spurious claims to legitimating antiquity.	II. 9	→	I. 13	→

(continued overleaf)

II. 10	Successions of archbishops, bishops, patriarchs and emperors.	II. 10	→	I. 14	→
				I. 15	A more explicit attack on the ‘ <i>dubious</i> ’ succession of the Roman bishops.
				I. 16	The ‘honour and reverence’ which Christians show towards their clergy.
II. 11	The iniquities of Rome and Roman Catholicism.	II. 11	→	I. 17	→
		II. 12	Roman Catholicism is ‘the most Schismaticall Church in the world, and also erroneous’.	I. 18	→
II. (12)	Conclusion.	II. (13)	Conclusion.	I. (19)	Conclusion.
				I. (20)	Christians in China, the East Indies, Africa, the West Indies and Brazil.
				See Chapter (22) below.	
II. (13)	Letters between Cyril Lucar, Patriarch of Alexandria and George Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury.	II. (14)	→	II. (21) → III. (22) Letters... III. (23) A life of Cyril Lucar. III. (24) Letters from the Eastern churches, affirming doctrinal and political support for the Reformed churches.	
		III.(15)	The religion of the ‘Antient Christian <i>Britains</i> ’ and how it differs to that of Rome.*		

**Note:**

- Chapters marked with lower case Roman or bracketed Arabic numerals are numbered only for the sake of convenience; they are not numbered in the text itself. Other chapters are numbered in the text, but I have not recorded misnumberings. The symbol '→' means that a given chapter remains in the next edition. Chapter descriptions in the table are not chapter titles unless quoted verbatim, but accounts of chapter content. Pagitt continually revised the text, and expansions and additions are commonplace. These, however, are too numerous to include here and rarely of structural significance.
- Pagination always begins on B1<sup>r</sup> and extends to the end of the single-lettered gatherings. Pagination begins again from Aa1<sup>r</sup>, except in the third edition where it continues, then again from Aaa1<sup>r</sup> (in the second and third editions) and, in the third edition, once more from Aaaa1<sup>r</sup>. This means that the text is divided into several, separately paginated 'parts'. Page references will therefore be preceded by either 'I', 'II' or 'III' to show to which paginated 'part' the page reference refers. These Roman numerals are included in figure 2.
- \* This section grows from 6 to 115 pages, prompting one commentator to suggest that it is an entirely separate work entitled *A Treatise of the Ancient Christians in Britany* (1640), see Brook, III, p. 63.

edition of *Christianographie* exists since Pagitt or (more likely) John Okes, the printer, deemed a Latin *Christianographie* unsuitable for the continental market.<sup>70</sup> Okes printed popular erudition rather than serious scholarship and, as Robert Burton wrote in the 1620s, many printers were unwilling to accept works in Latin: 'Any scurrile Pamphlet is welcome to our mercenary Stationers in *English*...But in *Latin* they will not deal...many flourishing wits are smothered in oblivion [and] ly dead and buried in this our Nation'.<sup>71</sup> Pagitt clearly sought to turn *Christianographie* into a text with the same pan-European notoriety as, say, Milton's *Defences*.

*Heresiography* was Pagitt's response to the tide of sectarianism which swept London in the 1640s. Masson suggests that Pagitt saw the success of Daniel Featley's *The Dippers Dipt* and, after *Christianographie*, 'acquired a fondness for the statistics of religious denomination'. In 1645, he suggests, Pagitt wrote *Heresiography* as 'a sequel' to *Christianographie*.<sup>72</sup> A recent historian calls it 'a monumental work', but it has been little studied.<sup>73</sup> Like *Christianographie*, *Heresiography* evolved out of a sermon which, unlike that of its sister-text, remains extant. This was entitled *The Mystical Wolfe* but, within a month of publication, was reprinted under a new title, *The Tryall of Trueth*.<sup>74</sup> This may have been due to its titular similarity to Stephen Denison's *The White Wolfe* which was published in 1627. This text was not only used by Pagitt as a source for types of Familist, but was republished in 1641 to coincide with the glut of anti-sectarian pamphlets which met the increasingly vocal sectaries.<sup>75</sup> The new title, *The Tryall of Trueth*, recalled two Protestant works against popery, but the texts in question were nearer forty years old than four.<sup>76</sup> *Heresiography*'s

<sup>70</sup> Extensive searches have yielded nothing, see M. A. Shaaber, *Check-list of Works of British Authors Printers Abroad, in Languages other than English, to 1641* (New York: Bibliographical Society of America, 1975).

<sup>71</sup> Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, eds Thomas C. Faulkner, Nicolas K. Kiessling, Rhonda L. Blair, intro. J. B. Bamborough, 3 vols (Oxford: Clarendon, 1989; first published 1621), I, p. 16.

<sup>72</sup> Masson, III, p. 139.

<sup>73</sup> Cressy, *Travesties*, p. 271, cf. Simon Dyton, 'Heresiography by Ephraim Pagitt' (unpublished M.Phil. Textual and Related Studies Project, University of Cambridge, 1998), *passim*.

<sup>74</sup> *The Mystical Wolfe* was registered on December 16th 1644, see G. E. Briscoe Eyre, ed., *A Transcript of the Registers of the Worshipful Company of Stationers, 1640-1708 A. D.*, 3 vols (London: privately printed, 1913-4), I, p. 140. Thomason received his copy on the 24th November 1644 but dated it 3rd February 1645. He dated *The Tryall of Trueth* 24th February 1645, see [George Thomason], *Catalogue of the Pamphlets, Books, Newspapers, and Manuscripts Relating to the Civil War, the Commonwealth, and Restoration, Collected by George Thomason, 1640-1661*, 2 vols (in 4 parts) (London: William Clowes and Sons, 1908; [facsimile] Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilms International, 1977), I, p. 349; Pagitt, *Wolfe*, A1r; *ibid.*, *The Tryall of Trueth: or, A Discovery of False Prophets* (1645), single sheet.

<sup>75</sup> Pagitt, *Heresiography*, 1st edn, pp. 83-4; *ibid.*, 2nd edn, p. 89. In the second edition, Pagitt acknowledged Denison's influence explicitly.

<sup>76</sup> John Terry, *The Triall of Truth: Containing a Plaine and Short Discovery of the Chiefest Pointes of the Doctrine of the Great Antichrist and of his Adherentes the False Teachers and Heretikes of these Last Times*, 3 parts (Oxford,

incarnations followed a more simple evolution than those of *Christianographie*. Though Pagitt died in 1646 (by which time *Heresiography* had gone through three editions), subsequent editions appeared in 1647, 1654 and 1661 and issues in 1647, 1648 and 1662. As discussed in the following chapter, editions grew in size as new heresies were added to the existing ones. The 'watermark' editions of 1654, the first year of the Protectorate, and 1661, the first year of the Restoration, are testimony to *Heresiography*'s status as something of a classic heresy-list which was reprinted to herald the advent of a new regime and to insist upon the constant dangers of religious enthusiasm.

The individual Christopher Hill anonymously calls Pagitt's 'continuator' was probably William Lee, a bookseller.<sup>77</sup> Lee bought the rights to *Heresiography* from its printer on 15th June 1646 and then produced a summary of it entitled *A Brief Collection Out of Master Pagitt's Book Called Heresiography*.<sup>78</sup> In length, this was no more than a pamphlet and, in function, no more than an advertisement: it was a compression of *Heresiography* into twenty-four pages, treating some twenty heresies with sometimes no more than one or two lines of writing. William Lee himself was probably responsible for producing *A Brief Collection* and has a very strong claim to being the 'continuator' who wrote the additions to *Heresiography* after Pagitt's death.<sup>79</sup> This is because Lee often expanded, supplemented and even compiled the books he was responsible for selling. He produced anonymously compiled 1656 and 1661 editions of *The Compleat Justice* which boasted of 'much new matter'.<sup>80</sup> He wrote the reader's preface to an account of the Civil War by James Heath who was responsible for the dedicatory letter in the 1662 issue of *Heresiography*.<sup>81</sup> Lee himself wrote a stationer's preface to the reader in *Heresiography*'s sixth edition.<sup>82</sup> Lee had few qualms about amending or altering the texts he sold. Expanding the text after the author's death may have been sound practice when the book concerned was evidently so popular.

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1600-25); Anon, *The Trial of Trueth or A Treatise Wherein is Declared Who Should be Judge Betwene the Reformed Churches and the Romish*, trans. Richard Smith (1591).

<sup>77</sup> Hill, 'Abolishing the Ranters', p. 166.

<sup>78</sup> Briscoe Eyre, I, p. 234.

<sup>79</sup> For the sake of consistency, I have nevertheless followed Wing in attributing these texts to Pagitt.

<sup>80</sup> Anon, *The Compleat Justice*, 6th edn (1656), A2<sup>r-v</sup>; *ibid.*, 7th edn (1661), A3<sup>r-v</sup>.

<sup>81</sup> James Heath, *A Brief Chronicle of All the Chief Actions So Fatally Falling Out in These Three Kingdoms* (1662), A3<sup>r-v</sup>; Pagitt, *Heresiography*, '6th' edn, π4<sup>r</sup>-A1<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>82</sup> Pagitt, *Heresiography*, 6th edn, (a)1<sup>r</sup>-(a)4<sup>r</sup>.



Brief accounts of *Christianographie* and *Heresiography* express very simply the nature of Pagitt's convictions: he jealously guarded the articles of belief and traditions of what he considered to be the English Church. More specifically, he supported the Protestantism which took root and developed under the Elizabethan Settlement. Though sources for reconstructing Pagitt's beliefs are in no way as comprehensive as those for, say, Stephen Denison, a contemporary minister of St Katherine Cree who has been expertly studied by Peter Lake, an examination of Pagitt's theological position allows his beliefs and prejudices to be more fully understood.<sup>83</sup>

Pagitt's uncompromising Calvinism was a mark of his theological conservatism. '[S]ith we cannot our selves thinke one good thought', he wrote, 'Let us not in the work of salvation attribute any thing to our selves, but to God let us give all the glory'.<sup>84</sup> Calvinism was at the core of the late Elizabethan and early Stuart Church, but one historian of the Westminster Assembly suggests that, by the 1640s, the body of doctrine promulgated by the assembly did not even deserve to be called 'Calvinistic' since it was heavily influenced by the writings of Theodore Beza, William Perkins and William Ames.<sup>85</sup> Pagitt's references to Protestant authorities were almost entirely limited to their writings against heretics and his own position appeared to be that of an unforgiving and traditional Calvinist. Pagitt was not an enthusiastic and incisive theologian and, in place of doctrinal wrangling, defined his own position in opposition to popery, heresy and whatever he considered to be any deviation from Calvinist orthodoxy.

In *Christianographie*, Pagitt compiled a series of comparisons between the Reformed faith and Roman Catholicism. He repudiated the office and rejected the authority of the Pope, denied the reality of transubstantiation but demanded the right to take the Eucharist in both kinds. He denied Purgatory, praying for souls supposedly in Purgatory, the Apocrypha, private masses, idolatrous worship, the belief that Christ's death was a sacrifice for all mankind, the elevation of the sacrament, the efficacy of extreme unction and indulgences. He affirmed the merits of faith over meritorious works, the absolute sufficiency of scripture, the necessity of preaching

<sup>83</sup> Lake, *Boxmaker's Revenge*, pp. 11-83.

<sup>84</sup> Pagitt, *Heresiography*, 1st edn, p. 116.

<sup>85</sup> R. T. Kendall, *Calvin and English Calvinism to 1649* (Oxford: OUP, 1979), p. 212.



scripture and praying in the vernacular, allowing the laity to read scripture in the vernacular and the right of the clergy to marry.<sup>86</sup> These criteria were used to define the reformed credentials and unity of the Greek, Georgian, Russian, Syrian, Armenian, Jerusalem, Jacobite, Indian, Egyptian and Ethiopian churches in opposition to Roman Catholicism. By implication, they also attributed to Pagitt an anti-Catholicised theology. Pagitt himself stood at the convergence of these anti-Catholic criteria, exemplifying a militantly Calvinist 'Old Protestant'.

Pagitt's appeals to Reformed precedent and propriety can be understood more clearly by noting the disparity he illustrates between the religion of the Elizabethan and Jacobean Churches and that of the Westminster Assembly in the 1640s. Although Pagitt's puritan father was prosecuted during Whitgift's time, it is this period which clung to Pagitt, defining his conception of sound doctrine. Indeed, when Whitgift assumed his archbishopric, he was determined, like Pagitt a generation later, to defend the English Church against both popery and radical Protestantism. According to one historian, Whitgift was a 'strict Calvinist' who 'did not differ from [puritans] upon the essential points of theology', but his Calvinism was disciplinarian rather than puritan in character. He unflinchingly suppressed puritans and the presbyterian classis movement.<sup>87</sup> Yet the Elizabethan Settlement defined heresy, in the Act of Supremacy of 1559, very loosely: heresy was determined 'by the authority of the Canonical Scriptures, or by the first four General Councils [or] by the High Court of Parliament...with the assent of the Clergy in their Convocation'.<sup>88</sup> This did not say *what* heresy was, but *how* it was determined. It is therefore ironic that Pagitt's deference to the Elizabethan Settlement, in which religious toleration was 'the keystone', gave rise to his fiercely dogmatic and intolerant religious perspective.<sup>89</sup> Nevertheless, we can trace Pagitt's views back to those of Whitgift who has been described as not only an 'archetypal Elizabethan conformist divine', but as 'narrow-minded to an almost incredible degree' and even as 'an Inquisitor as strenuous and merciless as Torquemada'.<sup>90</sup> Pagitt's position was not simply that of deference to

<sup>86</sup> Pagitt, *Christianographie*, 1st edn, I, pp. 57-126.

<sup>87</sup> Dickens, p. 313.

<sup>88</sup> Cited in Powel Mills Dawley, *John Whitgift and the English Reformation* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1954), p. 216.

<sup>89</sup> Dawley, p. 216.

<sup>90</sup> Peter Lake, *Anglicans and Puritans? Presbyterianism and English Conformist Thought from Whitgift to Hooker* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1988), p. 8; Gardiner, *History of England*, I, p. 33; Edward Spencer Beesly, *Queen Elizabeth*, repr. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1926; first published 1892), p. 228.

Whitgift's three articles of subscription, but Whitgiftian in its hostility to any deviation from the Calvinism of the English Church.

Pagitt was also Whitgiftian if we examine the principles which informed his religious position. Within four days of becoming the archbishop in 1583, Whitgift published the Eleven Articles, banning private congregations and enforcing the Bishop's Bible over the Geneva translation. The sixth article concerned ministerial subscription, stating that no man was permitted to administer the sacraments unless he subscribed to three further articles of belief. These consisted of ministers acknowledging royal supremacy over 'all manner of persons...realms, dominions, and countries of what estate, whether ecclesiastical, or temporal soever they be'; secondly, ministers had to accept the legitimacy and propriety of 'the book of common prayer, and the ordering of bishops, priests, and deacons'; thirdly, they had to accept the doctrinal rectitude of the Thirty-Nine Articles.<sup>91</sup> These three articles of Elizabethan churchmanship defined Pagitt's religious and political position and the following discussion explores Pagitt's adherence to these articles in more depth.

### **i. Royal Supremacy**

Pagitt was a steadfast royalist. He dedicated the third edition of *Christianographie* to 'the High and Mighty Monarch' even when Charles was suspected of closet popery.<sup>92</sup> In 1640, the year in which the third edition appeared, tensions between Charles and the Scottish Church, champing at the bit to abolish episcopacy and replace it with Presbyterianism, had already resulted in the First Bishops' War. The text received its imprimatur only several days before the Short Parliament sat and took its opportunity to air grievances against Charles and his style of government.<sup>93</sup> Pagitt's dedication to the monarch was a clear declaration of support in difficult times. Likewise, the dedication to Francis White, Bishop of Ely, in each edition of *Christianographie*, opened with the observation of Charles' son, James, that '*Romanists...cannot confirme their Faith, either by sacred Scripture, or ancient Traditions*' as if somehow reclaiming a monarchical anti-Catholicism by

<sup>91</sup> Cited in Dawley, p. 162.

<sup>92</sup> Pagitt, *Christianographie*, 3rd edn, I, A2r, A2r-A4r.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid., I, A1v.

appealing to the past.<sup>94</sup> Indeed, Pagitt held James I in high heresiological regard, later calling him 'a speciall meanes for the suppressing of these Sectaries' in view of his tirades against '*braine-sicke and headie Preachers*'.<sup>95</sup> Elsewhere, James specifically attacked Anabaptists, Familists and '*Novelists*'.<sup>96</sup> Pagitt's royalism was certainly nourished by the common hostility he shared with James towards sectaries, if not Charles' sympathy towards Roman Catholicism.

When the Civil War broke out, Pagitt's support for the monarchy escaped censure in his own London parish. His support for the King was firm, if not fervent, and was no doubt tempered by the idea of championing a suspected Roman Catholic monarch. The conservatism of Pagitt's parish also saved him. Keith Lindley describes 'a sizeable royalist minority' in London which was 'most in evidence among the elite ranks of the wealthy and traditionally powerful, but...had popular roots extending downwards through the broad spectrum of London's merchants, shopkeepers and artisans to the lower reaches of society'.<sup>97</sup> Tai Lui suggests that the majority of Pagitt's parishioners were '[c]onservatives and moderates'.<sup>98</sup> They included two of the senior aldermen of the City, Sir George Whitmore and Sir Nicholas Rainton.<sup>99</sup> The latter was among the dedicatees of *The Mysticall Wolfe* and *Heresiography*.<sup>100</sup> When Pagitt retired to Deptford, members of his parish requested the appointment of one William Launce, the sequestered minister of another particularly conservative parish, St Michael le Querne.<sup>101</sup> Deptford itself was a royalist hot-spot and when the Second Civil War erupted in 1648, royalists quickly overran it.<sup>102</sup> In early 1649 in Deptford, a bloody handkerchief which purportedly belonged to the beheaded King was allegedly still capable of curing scrofula, the King's Evil.<sup>103</sup> Both Pagitt's convictions and his local context insist upon his support of monarchy and the Royal Supremacy.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid., 1st edn, I, A3r.

<sup>95</sup> Ibid., *Heresiography*, 1st edn, p. 115; James I, p. 143.

<sup>96</sup> James I, p. 143, p. 490.

<sup>97</sup> Lindley, p. 237, p. 246.

<sup>98</sup> Tai Liu, *Puritan London: A Study of Religion and Society in the City Parishes* (Newark: University of Delaware, 1986), p. 30, p. 44.

<sup>99</sup> Dale, I, p. 53.

<sup>100</sup> Pagitt, *Wolfe*, A2r; *ibid.*, *Heresiography*, 1st edn, A1r.

<sup>101</sup> Liu, p. 135.

<sup>102</sup> Anon, *A Perfect Diurnal*, no. 252, 22-29th May 1648, p. 2032.

<sup>103</sup> Anon, *A Miracle of Miracles Wrought by the Blood of King Charles the First* (1649), pp. 1-5.

## ii. Liturgy and Episcopacy

Pagitt also supported the second article of subscription, the legitimacy of 'the book of common prayer, and the ordering of bishops, priests, and deacons'. His advocacy of the *Book of Common Prayer* in his letters to European patriarchs and Protestant princes included his commendation of Elias Petley's translation of it into Greek. Indeed, Pagitt supported all established liturgies and set forms of prayer. In *Christianographie*, he described the confessions of faith of other Reformed churches and examined their own liturgies as a means of establishing their similarity to English Protestantism. He included the German, Greek, Huguenot, Belgian, Bohemian and Scottish churches' confessions of faith.<sup>104</sup> They were all drawn from Jean Francois Salvard's *Harmonia Confessionum Fidei, Orthodoxarum, & Reformatarum Ecclesiarum* which was published in Geneva under the sponsorship of Theodore Beza. This was translated into English as *The Harmonie of Confessions of the Faith, of the Christian & Reformed Churches* in 1586 by a zealous Presbyterian whose other publications were already banned under Whitgift's suppression of the puritan movement. In the second edition of *Christianographie*, Pagitt added more liturgical details, prayers, and descriptions of ceremonies which, in the third edition, provided the material for expanded fifth and sixth chapters.<sup>105</sup> The *Harmonia Confessionum Fidei* was a 'fundamental expression of Protestant accord', according to Anthony Milton, and Pagitt's use of it, despite the lack of favour it found due to its Presbyterian point of origin, indicated not only his puritan sympathies but his determination to describe 'a most sacred harmony' between the Reformed churches.<sup>106</sup> Pagitt's defence of set forms of prayer relied upon the fact that 'all Christian Churches in the world generally use...set Prayers' which would continue to be read in churches 'maugre all the Hereticks and Schismaticks in the World'.<sup>107</sup> Pagitt probably read from the *Book of Common Prayer* despite Presbyterian and puritanical derision of it.

Until the political dominance of the Presbyterian party made it unwise to continue, Pagitt also advocated episcopacy and the system of tithes which maintained it. Anthony Milton rightly suggests that Pagitt shared in that 'especial satisfaction'

<sup>104</sup> Pagitt, *Christianographie*, 1st edn, I, pp. 126-9.

<sup>105</sup> Ibid., 2nd edn, I, pp. 123-4, p. 135, pp. 146-51; ibid., 3rd edn, I, pp. 93-109.

<sup>106</sup> Milton, *Catholic*, pp. 382-3; Pagitt, *Christianographie*, 1st edn, I, p. 128.

that English Protestants enjoyed in their own clergy's economic stability, often comparing themselves favourably with 'the deficiencies in the economic and social strength of the Church abroad'.<sup>108</sup> Thus in *Christianographie*, Pagitt cited with horror the expropriation of church lands on the continent, the poverty of reformed ministers and the tide of 'irreligion' which accompanied the break-down of episcopacy.<sup>109</sup> Pagitt championed bishops against 'Elders or Presbyters' and accused those who refused to pay tithes of stealing from God, perpetrating sacrilege, breaking the law and, characteristically, being rebellious sectaries.<sup>110</sup> In the second edition of *Heresiography*, he called tithes 'the eternal maintenance of Gods service', paid even by Moslems.<sup>111</sup> Pagitt's commitment to episcopacy, the tithes which supported it and the *Book of Common Prayer* which guaranteed liturgical conformity, all emphasised his adherence to Whitgift's second article of subscription. They also flowed naturally into Pagitt's support for the third article of Elizabethan churchmanship, his commitment to the Thirty-Nine Articles.

### iii. The Thirty-Nine Articles

Whitgift's third article of subscription concerned consistency of church doctrine. In *Christianographie*, Pagitt wrote:

[T]he unity of the Church of England doth appeare in the 39 Articles of Religion to which the Archbishops and Bishops of both Provinces, with all the English Clergie, subscribed in a Synod held at *London*, in the yeare 1662 [sic; read 1563, or 1562 in the Julian calendar]: and doe still subscribe for avoiding of diversity of opinions, and for the establishing of consent and unitie touching true Religion. As for Sectaries, or Separatists among us, who denie to subscribe to these Articles, or to any one of them[,] such are not to be accounted members of the English Church.<sup>112</sup>

<sup>107</sup> Pagitt, *Heresiography*, 1st edn, p. 72, p. 59.

<sup>108</sup> Milton, *Catholic*, pp. 499-500.

<sup>109</sup> Pagitt, *Christianographie*, 3rd edn, I, pp. 189-90, p. 216, p. 177, pp. 177-222.

<sup>110</sup> Ibid., 1st edn, I, p. 198; *ibid.*, 3rd edn, I, pp. 198-212.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid., *Heresiography*, 2nd edn, p. 157.

<sup>112</sup> Ibid., *Christianographie*, 3rd edn, I, pp. 110-1.



Once again, Pagitt's assertion of right religion accompanied his derision of 'Sectaries, or Separatists' in opposition to it. In *Heresiography*, he mentioned the Thirty-Nine Articles when he considered 'it fitting to give the Reader to preserve him from infection, some Mithridate out of the Pannarium, or medicinable box of our Mother the Church' and referred the reader to several of them.<sup>113</sup> The Thirty-Nine Articles were not an expression of doctrine in the form of a creed nor the explanation of a creed already accepted, but a summary of sound doctrine. They were a series of summarised points of Christian religion straddling several positions. Without establishing a firm and resolute theology, they located English religion within certain theological structures by avoiding unduly narrow definitions of such notions as predestination and transubstantiation. Though this sat uncomfortably with Pagitt's own narrow-minded, heresiological outlook, Thomas Rogers' popular commentary on the Thirty-Nine Articles not only took them in a Calvinist direction, but was something of a heresy-list itself. He described the heresies which scholarly erudition could juxtapose against each article as well as the articles themselves.<sup>114</sup> Appearing in twelve editions between 1607 and 1691, Rogers' commentary effectively became one of the most popular heresy-lists of the period. It is little surprise that Pagitt referred his readers to the Thirty-Nine Articles, whose popular form was Rogers' heresiological commentary.

### Pagitt the Puritan Pragmatist

Pagitt was the minister of St Edmund the King, as he says himself, 'for 40 year and more'.<sup>115</sup> His commitment to monarchy, the liturgy and episcopacy, and the Thirty-Nine Articles, however, was not matched by a consistency of religio-political position. His conservatism and long-standing forced upon him difficult political and religious decisions in an age of turbulence and change. It is the function of the following discussion to describe two of these, his complicated relationship with Archbishop Laud and his shift away from episcopacy towards Presbyterianism.

<sup>113</sup> Ibid., *Heresiography*, 1st edn, p. 26.

<sup>114</sup> Thomas Rogers, *The Faith, Doctrine, and Religion, Professed, & Protected in the Realme of England...Expressed in 39 Articles* (Cambridge, 1607), passim.

<sup>115</sup> Pagitt, *Wolfe*, A2r.



Pagitt's tenure at St Edmund the King, Lombard Street, saw four different archbishops pass through Canterbury: John Whitgift (1583-1604), Richard Bancroft (1604-10), George Abbot (1610-33) and William Laud (1633-45). Like a seventeenth-century Vicar of Bray, Pagitt changed with the times. During the 1630s, he fell under Laud's influence and appeared to support the Laudian regime; then, during the 1640s, he moved towards Presbyterianism and his own parish became part of the larger classis system. Such pragmatism was at odds with his image as a redoubtable opponent of religious innovation, but it is in fact an index of his conservatism and commitment to the Elizabethan Settlement. We may understand Pagitt as a man whose commitment to the present was subordinated to his devotion to the past.

For Pagitt, Whitgift's three articles of subscription were the foundations upon which the English Church was built. Coupled with his adherence to Calvin's distinction between church and state, they militated against fidelity to what were considered superficial or transient political causes. Calvin made a sharp distinction between 'the court of conscience' and 'y<sup>e</sup> outward [or] earthly court': 'neither doth the Chirch take to it self any thing which proprely belongeth to the Magistrate, nor the magistrate can execute that which the Chirch doeth'.<sup>116</sup> A sharp division between church and state did not encourage political action. Calvin wrote:

Wherefore if we be unmercifully tormented by a cruel Prince, if we be ravenously spoiled of a covetous or ryotous Prince, if we be neglected of a slouthfull Prince, finally if we be vexed for godlinesses sake of a wicked and ungodly Prince: let us first cal to minde the remembrance of our sinnes, which undoubtedly are chastised with such scourges of the Lord...it pertaineth not to us to remedy suche evells [but to] crave y<sup>e</sup> helpe of y<sup>e</sup> Lord.<sup>117</sup>

Despite his support of monarchy, Pagitt did not consider it his place to protest against accusations of Charles' popery or make any himself. This also allowed him to take positive action, however, and pretend fidelity to causes for merely political expediency. His relationship with both the Laudian and Presbyterian projects,

<sup>116</sup> John Calvin, *The Institution of Christian Religion*, trans. Thomas Norton (1561), fols 57r-58r, fol. 69v.

therefore, requires exploration in order to fathom just how far his commitment to the past determined his conduct in the present.

Anthony Milton calls Pagitt a 'Laudian writer' who 'offered unambiguous support to Laud's ecclesiastical programme'.<sup>118</sup> But Milton examines only *Christianographie* and appears ignorant of Pagitt's Elizabethan convictions and heresiological ambitions. Regarding his reading of *Christianographie*, however, Milton is right to stress that 'Laudians...preferred to view the church on earth as comprehending all Christians who outwardly professed the bare essentials of Christian belief'.<sup>119</sup> He is also right to point out that Francis White, the Bishop of Ely, who was Pagitt's primary dedicatee in *Christianographie*, considered the Synod of Dort to have been too radical a church council (of course, he seems to have differed from Pagitt in this).<sup>120</sup> Milton also remarks upon the episcopalian emphasis of *Christianographie*'s third edition, considering this to have been at the suggestion of Laud himself.<sup>121</sup> Milton does not ask himself why Pagitt came to Laud's attention or why Pagitt took his advice. These considerations swiftly deflate Milton's thesis that Pagitt was a 'Laudian writer'.

Why did Pagitt come to Laud's attention? By the 1630s, Pagitt was probably one of the longest-standing ministers in London. But more significant than this was Pagitt's relationship with his cousin, Justinian, and Justinian's proximity to Laud. We have already met Justinian as Pagitt's eyes and ears in the Star Chamber and High Commission Court. Justinian was also close to William Laud, politically if not theologically. In a short letter, dated 22nd August 1633, Justinian suggested that his correspondent could be 'confident' that Laud was the next Archbishop of Canterbury 'for his Congé d'eslire [sic] was retornd the last weeke & tis sayd the K.[ing] hath given his royal assent'.<sup>122</sup> The King had personally appointed Laud two weeks earlier and Justinian's intimacy with events suggests that he moved in the same circles as the new archbishop and the King. It is very possible that the men knew each other. Pagitt's submission to Laud's request to emphasise episcopacy in *Christianographie*'s

<sup>117</sup> Ibid., fol. 170r.

<sup>118</sup> Milton, *Catholic*, p. 268, p. 9.

<sup>119</sup> Ibid., p. 530.

<sup>120</sup> Ibid., pp. 429-30.

<sup>121</sup> Ibid., p. 309.

<sup>122</sup> BL, Harley MS 1026, fol. 46r. The 'Congé d'eslire' is a misspelling of *congé d'elire*, meaning approximately 'leave (or permission) for election'. A copy of this letter records the phrase as 'Congé d'office', cf. BL, Add. MS 4173, fol. 56r.

third edition may have been a matter of family favour rather than ecclesiastical fervour.

It is also true that Pagitt dedicated his abbreviated version of *Christianographie, A Relation of the Christians in the World*, to Laud.<sup>123</sup> In the two Latin manuscript copies of *Christianographie*, it is clear that he did so in order to elicit Laud's support when he attempted to introduce *Christianographie* onto the continent. This is because Pagitt also dedicated these Latin translations of *Christianographie* to Laud, imploring him to 'dignare meam Christianographiam, nunc latinis indu[c]tam vestibus, et ad regiones transmarinas properantem, sub alarum vestrarum umbra protegere' ('consider my *Christianographie*, now clothed in Latin, and hastening to overseas regions, and protect her under the shadow of your wing').<sup>124</sup> Pagitt evidently sought Laud's patronage in order to help him penetrate the continental market as his father had a generation earlier.

Many of Milton's generalisations come quickly undone, revealing Pagitt to be opportunistically rather than ideologically part of Laud's camp. Milton states that Laudians saw Roman Catholic beliefs as no more than 'a destabilising force [or] a mixed bag of errors and pastoral negligence' rather than 'binary opposites of the values of true religion'.<sup>125</sup> This flies in the face of Pagitt's propensity to define his own theological position in opposition to that of Rome. Since Pagitt's Calvinism is hard to ignore, Milton also rightly points out that not all Laudians were necessarily Arminian, but he suggests this alongside admitting that most Laudians sought to distance the English church from Calvinism.<sup>126</sup> Milton also observes that Laudians 'rejected past symbols of orthodoxy - they refused to pay lip-service to the axioms of the orthodoxy of Calvin, or of the antichristianity of Rome' as well as 'the Elizabethan moderate puritan tradition of English Protestantism'.<sup>127</sup> This clearly contradicts much of that which defined Pagitt as pastor and polemicist. In *Christianographie*, it is true that Pagitt did not emphatically and explicitly press home the antichristianity of Rome, 'the doctrinal basis of Elizabethan anti-popery' according to Peter Lake, but this was no doubt due to Laud's supervision of his writing.<sup>128</sup> Instead, Pagitt accused the Pope of

<sup>123</sup> Pagitt, *Relation*, A3r.

<sup>124</sup> BL, MS 823, fol. 8v. The passage is identical to that of BL, MS 824.

<sup>125</sup> Milton, *Catholic*, p. 529.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 541-2, pp. 426-35.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 539.

<sup>128</sup> Lake, *Moderate Puritans*, p. 286.

'Sathanicall' behaviour, devil-worship and necromancy.<sup>129</sup> He stopped short of identifying the Pope with the Antichrist, but suggested that whoever 'desires to bee called the universall Bishop, is...the *forerunner* of Antichrist'.<sup>130</sup>

Milton makes capital out of Pagitt's admissions of ecclesiastical affinity with Rome.<sup>131</sup> In the 'Laudian' *Relation of the Christians in the World*, for example, Pagitt lamented that '[t]here was a time, when the *Roman Church* did acknowledge her selfe a sister, and not a mistris'.<sup>132</sup> Yet James I, whose ideology certainly influenced Pagitt, considered the Roman Church to be 'our Mother Church' and, distinguishing between Balean 'trew' and 'false' churches, *also* the Antichrist.<sup>133</sup> This may be inconsistency on James' part, but it is commitment to regal authority and ideology on the part of Pagitt.

Indeed, Pagitt's lip-service to the Laudian cause in *Christianographie* was unrelated to any commitment to Laud himself. When Laud was tried for treason in 1645, he was accused of securing for Pagitt the property rights of a parish tenement. This turned it into a church property rather than a private property and made it impossible for one James Symes to purchase it. Though Laud 'desired that Mr. *Pagett*, the Incumbent [of St Edmund the King] might be heard', Pagitt failed to appear.<sup>134</sup>

An account of Pagitt's changing relationship with Laud provides some of the context in which his shift away from episcopacy occurred since, in 1640, a 'Laudian' *Christianographie* expressed emphatic episcopalian convictions. Yet within five years, the parish of St Edmund the King was part of the London classis system and Pagitt was apparently an adherent of Presbyterianism. A brief discussion of Presbyterianism's rise and episcopacy's fall suggests the extent to which Pagitt's conversion was forced by circumstances rather than his own preference.

The early 1640s, following the Bishops' Wars, saw momentum gather for the abolition of episcopacy. Bishops had already been abolished in Scotland in August 1639. During the 1640s, Archbishop Laud and the episcopal structure over which he presided in England were increasingly identified with the elaborate hierarchies of the

<sup>129</sup> Pagitt, *Christianographie*, 2nd edn, III, p. 86; *ibid.*, 3rd edn, I, p. 237, p. 256.

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid.*, 1st edn, I, p. 137, my emphasis.

<sup>131</sup> Milton, *Catholic*, pp. 128-72.

<sup>132</sup> Pagitt, *Relation*, pp. 77-8.

<sup>133</sup> James I, p. 491, p. 43, p. 42, pp. 308-11; Fincham and Lake, p. 183, *passim*.

<sup>134</sup> William Laud, *The History of the Troubles and Tryal of the Most Reverend Father in God, and Blessed Martyr, William Laud, Lord Arch-Bishop of Canterbury*, 2 vols (1695-1700), I, pp. 264-5; CSPD, 1641-3, p. 521.

Papal Curia. In December 1640, Laud was impeached and the first Root and Branch petition was presented to Parliament. In May 1641, the Lords debated the restraint of bishops and, not to be outdone, the Commons swiftly introduced a bill for their abolition. Rioting against bishops continued and a second Root and Branch petition was presented to Parliament on the 11th December. Bishops were excluded from the Lords in February 1642. After the abandonment of episcopacy, those who had opposed the bishops became ever more divided between those who sought a Presbyterian classis system of church government and those who sought a more tolerant, eclectic form of organisation, if any at all. Pagitt was forced to make a choice. The Civil War had witnessed the growth of Presbyterian influence in Parliament which was consolidated by the convention of the Westminster Assembly in July 1643. Presbyterianism was established in England in September 1643 but, by the summer of 1645, London's religious future was fiercely contested. A Presbyterian majority, with a strong parliamentary presence and considerable control over the city authorities, faced an Independent minority which many of the burgeoning radicals joined.

Pagitt's reason for taking the Covenant is clear. He chose to support Presbyterianism because it was, for him, the lesser of two evils and episcopacy was a defeated force. Laud was executed for treason on 10th January 1645. Many conservative Londoners, and notably merchants, were attracted by Presbyterianism as an antidote to religious radicalism.<sup>135</sup> Pagitt took the Covenant in 1645, the year in which he joined with London ministers to present a Presbyterian petition to Parliament.<sup>136</sup> An interim was introduced into the parish of St Edmund the King in the same year.<sup>137</sup> Unlike so many other churchmen who wrote against heresy, however, Pagitt was not a *committed* Presbyterian. In his parish, Presbyterianism was 'weaker' than that in other London parishes and St Edmund the King was one of the three parishes in the Third London Classis which quickly ceased to function as part of the larger Presbyterian system.<sup>138</sup>

<sup>135</sup> Valerie Pearl, *London and the Outbreak of the Puritan Revolution: City Government and National Politics, 1625-43* (London: OUP, 1961), p. 284; Robert Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution: Commercial Change, Political Conflict, and London's Overseas Traders, 1550-1653* (Cambridge: CUP, 1993), pp. 481-93.

<sup>136</sup> Brook, III, p. 63.

<sup>137</sup> Matthews, *Walker Revised*, p. 55.

<sup>138</sup> Liu, p. 91.



**Beaten by the Times: An Ignominious End**

Anthony à Wood suggests that when the Civil War broke out 'meerly for quietness sake [Pagitt] was forced to leave his benefice' and spend the remainder of 'his days in great devotion and retiredness'.<sup>139</sup> William Lee suggested that Pagitt was for a time imprisoned.<sup>140</sup> Another source recorded Pagitt only as 'molested, silenced and dead', having been 'among [those] scandalous Ministers [who] gave up their Churches'.<sup>141</sup> Benjamin Brook describes the pitiful plight in which Pagitt found himself:

Though [Pagitt's] name is enrolled among the sufferers in the royal cause, he is with justice classed among the puritans. Many excellent divines, who were dissatisfied with the ecclesiastical discipline and ceremonies, and even with episcopacy itself, were nevertheless, during the national confusions, great sufferers on the account of their loyal attachment to his majesty and the civil constitution. Their zeal for the King and his cause exposed them to the severity of the opposite party. This appears to have been the case with Mr. Paget.<sup>142</sup>

Brook calls Pagitt 'a great sufferer' of the Civil War.<sup>143</sup> He was silenced and left St Edmund the King sometime in 1645.

Like Pagitt's birth, his death went unrecorded. He was buried on 27th October 1646 at St Nicholas' Church, Deptford, as 'M<sup>r</sup> Ephrim Pagett'.<sup>144</sup> The commonly accepted date of his death, April 1647, is therefore wrong.<sup>145</sup> Pagitt's will was proved on 29th May 1647 but was written on 6th August 1646.<sup>146</sup> The time elapsing between

<sup>139</sup> Wood, III, p. 211.

<sup>140</sup> Pagitt, *Heresiography*, 6th edn, (a)2v.

<sup>141</sup> Chestlin, p. 45, p. 23.

<sup>142</sup> Brook, III, p. 63.

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid.*, III, p. 63.

<sup>144</sup> Nathan Dews, *A History of Deptford in the Counties of Kent and Surrey*, 2nd edn, rev. (London: Conway Maritime, 1971; first published 1884), p. 94; LMA, Records of St. Nicholas Church, Deptford, reel X075/001. Dews incorrectly transcribes Pagitt's name as 'Mr Ephraim Paget', as does Daniel Lyons, *The Environs of London: Being an Historical Account of the Towns, Villages, and Hamlets, Within Twelve Miles of that Capital*, 4 vols (London: n. p., 1795-6), IV, p. 377.

<sup>145</sup> DNB, XXXXIII, p. 65. Alexander Gordon, the DNB author, follows Wood, III, p. 211.

<sup>146</sup> George F. Matthews and John Matthews, eds, *Abstracts of Probate Acts in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury (1645-47)* (London: 93 & 94 Chancery Lane, 1906), p. 257; FRC, Reel Prob. 11/200, fol. 227r.



a will being drafted and the testator dying was normally a week or two.<sup>147</sup> Pagitt may have endured an unusually lingering death or, more probably, he followed the 1559 *Book of Common Prayer* to the letter when it recommended that even a healthy man should prepare a will for the 'discharging of his conscience' and the 'quietness of executors'.<sup>148</sup> Indeed, unlike other wills alongside his own, Pagitt's will recorded no mention of illness or failing health. Thus he must have died sometime in October 1646 and an examination of his death indicates the extent to which he had been, as Brook says, 'a great sufferer'.

Though William Lee was very wide of the mark to suggest that Pagitt died in 1650, he did make the reasonable suggestion that Pagitt died 'in his old Mansion House' in Deptford.<sup>149</sup> This had belonged to his father, Eusebius, and was attached to a considerable amount of land.<sup>150</sup> At the beginning of the century, the lands amounted to 16½ acres on which there were four cottages, a barn and a workhouse. Attached to the house was an orchard and a large yard.<sup>151</sup> Yet when Pagitt died, he sold all of his land and property to clear his debts. He kept only 'the Court and Garden adjoining the house' which, according to his will, he left to his wife.<sup>152</sup>

Pagitt's will provides a fitting conclusion to his life. Like many wills, it is an opaque document in which the personality of the testator is largely obscured by the set phrases of the scrivener or lawyer. Yet a testator's personality can sometimes be heard.<sup>153</sup> Godly individuals, for example, might have idiosyncratic or extravagant confessions of faith.<sup>154</sup> Pagitt briefly commended himself to God in conspicuously bland language: 'I commend my Soule to God most humblie entreating his divine Majestie to be mercifull unto me for his blessed Sonn our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christs sake'.<sup>155</sup> A more typical commendation is found in the same hand on the very same page as that of Pagitt. It belongs to one John Elliot, a yeoman, who commended

<sup>147</sup> Stephen Coppel, 'Willmaking on the Deathbed', *Local Population Studies*, 60 (1988), 37-40, p. 38; Susan Brock and E. A. J. Honigman, *Playhouse Wills 1558-1642* (Manchester: Manchester University, 1993), p. 17.

<sup>148</sup> John E. Booty, ed., *The Book of Common Prayer 1559: The Elizabethan Prayerbook* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia, 1976), p. 303.

<sup>149</sup> Pagitt, *Heresiography*, 6th edn, (a)2v; Dews, pp. 289-90.

<sup>150</sup> LLSA, *A Map of Dept[ford] from the Original Pen and Ink Sketch With Additional Remarks by John Evelyn Esquire* (1623).

<sup>151</sup> Cited by Dews, pp. 289-90.

<sup>152</sup> FRC, Reel Prob. 11/200, fol. 227r.

<sup>153</sup> Brock and Honigman, p. 10.

<sup>154</sup> Christopher Marsh, 'In the Name of God? Will-making and Faith in Early Modern England', in G. H. Martin and Peter Spufford, eds, *The Records of the Nation: The Public Record Office 1838-1988, The British Record Society 1888-1988* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1990), pp. 215-249, *passim*.

and committed his 'soule into the hands of Almighty God the father of all and to Jesus Christ his onelie Sonn...with assured hope that by the alone Merits passion and Intercession of my said Saviour I shall receive remission of all my sins and after the end of this life enjoye eternall happines'.<sup>156</sup> There is clearly a difference: Pagitt's will suggested a sense of puritanical simplicity. It is probably insignificant that Pagitt did not claim to be an elect saint since such claims were made by only 20% of examined testators in one sample and 7% in another.<sup>157</sup> Just as Pagitt remained committed to the principles of sixteenth-century puritanism throughout the seventeenth-century, it is tempting to read his will as a final commitment to the plain style of a puritan minister. The only example of Pagitt's devotional, rather than adversarial, religious writing befits the simplicity and conservatism which characterised his life.

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Pagitt, an 'Old Protestant', brings the conservative puritanism of an Elizabethan minister into the turbulent world of mid-seventeenth-century London. Little else can be expected from a man whose ministry in St. Edmund the King, Lombard Street, spanned over four decades. He was a noble example of an Elizabethan puritan minister, leading 'an orderly and exemplary household' and being 'an indefatigable student', 'a stern disciplinarian' and a compassionate and generous minister to members of his flock. In short, he occupied what many sought from the Elizabethan Settlement almost a century beforehand, what Patrick Collinson calls 'a godly, learned, resident, preaching ministry'.<sup>158</sup>

Pagitt's commitment to Whitgift's articles of subscription was unflinching and no evidence suggests that he was at all interested, let alone involved, in the proceedings of the Westminster Assembly. He considered such theological innovations to be corrupting the fabric of the English Church. His bookseller, William Lee, wrote that he was 'firm to his Principles, and constantly adhering to that Doctrine and Discipline which, as not contradicting the Scriptures, was approv'd of by the antient Fathers, and had here been established by Law, in the Reign of K[ing]

<sup>155</sup> FRC, Reel Prob. 11/200, fol. 227r.

<sup>156</sup> Ibid., fol. 227r.

<sup>157</sup> R. C. Richardson, *Puritanism in the Diocese of Chester to 1642* (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Manchester, 1968), pp. 283-300; Collinson, *Religion*, p. 197.

<sup>158</sup> Collinson, *Religion*, p. 84, p. 96.

*Edward the sixth, Qu[een] Elizabeth, K[ing] James and K[ing] Charls [sic] of blessed memory*'.<sup>159</sup> Like other 'Old Protestants', Pagitt was an Elizabethan relic, his zealous regard for religious authority catechised into him as a child by his fervently puritanical father. But the militant puritanism championed by his father turned into the conservative kind as the years passed. Pagitt's convictions remained those which formed the foundations of England's Calvinism during the archbishopric of John Whitgift. Pagitt's signature, 'Old *Ephraim Pagitt*', is particularly apt.<sup>160</sup> Masson even suggests that *Heresiography* is 'very senile in its syntax and punctuation' and Ann Hughes calls it an 'old man's book'.<sup>161</sup> It was.

Pagitt, to recall Peter Lake's phrase, was therefore something of a back-to-front moderate puritan, an 'Old Protestant'. Yet he shared with moderate puritanism certain ideological characteristics. He defined his position 'against the spectre of popery', to use Lake's words, and *Christianographie* was 'the perfect vehicle for that zealously committed pedantry that was the hallmark of the godly divine'.<sup>162</sup> Indeed, such pedantry was 'at once an avowal of loyalty to the church of England and the Royal Supremacy, and a defence of the cause of true religion'. This, Lake continues, 'typified the moderate puritan position'.<sup>163</sup> Pagitt's crusade was to defend the traditional religion of the reformed English Church from the tumult of the mid-seventeenth century. His backwards-looking perspective also inclined him to see heresy, like many others, in all its historical significance and variety as my subsequent discussion will illustrate. Chapter Three, therefore, goes on to explore the variety of heresies which Pagitt described and the methodology, purpose and effects of the heresiology which he wrote.

<sup>159</sup> Pagitt, *Heresiography*, 6th edn, a(2)<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>160</sup> Ibid., 1st edn, B2<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>161</sup> Masson, III, p. 139; Hughes, 'Chapter Four', p. 18.

<sup>162</sup> Lake, *Moderate Puritans*, p. 7, p. 57.

<sup>163</sup> Ibid., p. 57.

### III

#### Defining Heresiology: *Christianographie* and *Heresiography*

This chapter discusses *Christianographie* and *Heresiography* with the aim of contextualising them within the broader mass of controversial literature in the period. *Christianographie*, as we have seen, espoused a Reformed pan-Christian internationalism which excluded only the Roman Catholic Church from the true 'Catholique' church of Christ. *Heresiography*, on the other hand, was a heresy-list that described the sects which Pagitt considered to be a threat to the Church in England. Both texts contained contents, indices, rubrication, lists and catalogues which invited their consultation as reference works rather than as polemics to be read from beginning to end. In this way, Pagitt presented *Christianographie* and *Heresiography* as encyclopaedic *summae* of, formerly, Christians and, latterly, heretics. This, however, disguised each text's polemical function. Compendious listing was used, in *Christianographie*, to amplify the presence and to defend the spiritual integrity of Protestant Christians in the world and, in *Heresiography*, to exaggerate the number of sects threatening the English Church.

This chapter examines how such lists, along with their constituent labels, achieved these ends. Their function in *Christianographie* was to turn the text into a scholarly, authoritative tome whose polemic has the appearance of credible, fact-founded analysis. Together with considerable reference to the wider context of contemporary heresiology, *Heresiography* will be shown to be employing taxonomy and nomenclature in order to describe the heresies which it denounced. I intend to show that both texts located within themselves the subjects with which they were concerned. As authoritative *summae*, both *Christianographie* and *Heresiography* sought to be the corroborating authorities of their own claims by creating within the locus of their own arguments an image of, in the former, a de-Catholicised world and, in the latter, a sectarianised one. This representative method, employing lists, labels and even contrived lies, characterised much heresiological writing. Explaining the strategy of wrapping the world up in the text and re-representing it forms the basis of later chapters in which the fabrication of radicalism will be described.

*Christianographie: Catalogues, Christians and Catholics*

*Christianographie* was a sustained effort to catalogue and describe numerous kinds of Christian. In doing so, it anticipated *Heresiography*'s account of so many kinds of heresy. Pagitt himself admitted that *Christianographie* was a catalogue, but suggested that there were 'catalogues plentie' which established ecclesiastical legitimacy by tracing episcopal or apostolic descent. Pagitt accused such catalogues of being popish (even when written by Protestants) because, echoing Mark 16:16, it was unnecessary for a man who was 'baptized, & believeth' to 'set downe a catalogue of the names of his spirituall parents, since Christ'.<sup>1</sup> This sentiment was also expressed by John Milton when he remarked that a 'tedious muster of citations, Sees, and successions' was to live 'by custome and catalogue...rather then by faith'.<sup>2</sup> Likewise, Pagitt claimed that 'the true primitive Faith' made 'a true Apostolicke Church' and boldly announced in *Christianographie* that 'instead of a Catalogue of Names, I would show...a Catalogue of Churches, in which there now are, and have beene many millions of Christians'.<sup>3</sup> This was the defining agenda of *Christianographie*: namely, to enumerate the Christian churches of the world, dividing Protestant from Catholic and attributing to the former religious legitimacy and to the latter degenerate worldliness and spiritual corruption. *Christianographie*'s cataloguing, therefore, was primarily geographical and genealogical. Of course, even 'a Catalogue of Churches' remained 'a Catalogue of Names' and these two forms of representation - cataloguing and naming, listing and labelling - are at the heart of *Christianographie*'s descriptive polemic, just as they are in *Heresiography*.

In 1621, Peter Heylyn made the distinction between 'the reall world' and what he called a 'presentative world', his own geographical description of it.<sup>4</sup> It is *Christianographie*'s 'presentative world' which Pagitt sought to turn into a polemically advantageous representation of international Protestantism. But if this was so, we are able to glimpse its fictional and fragile nature. Bohemian Protestants existed 'in great numbers', Pagitt assured the reader in the first edition, but then admitted in the second that they were far from numerous and, specifically, 'not all

<sup>1</sup> Pagitt, *Christianographie*, 1st edn, I, a2<sup>r-v</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> *CPWJM*, I, p. 778.

<sup>3</sup> Pagitt, *Christianographie*, 1st edn, I, a2<sup>r</sup>, a3<sup>r</sup>.



extinguished'.<sup>5</sup> In the first edition, the Dutch were purportedly free of sectaries, professing only 'the Protestants religion'; when Pagitt was compelled to argue the merits of episcopacy in the third edition, however, he remarked that, without bishops, the Dutch in fact suffered from an 'abundance of Heresies, Sects, Schismes, and Religions'.<sup>6</sup> These were less corrections of *Christianographie*'s claims than glimpses of Pagitt's exaggerations and ideals which were exposed as the text's expansion included more information than was polemically expedient.

Indeed, the purpose of compendious lists and calculated labels was to obscure the 'reall world' and instead construct a 'presentative world' of Protestant dominance. Specifically, lists formed the catalogues of nefarious Roman bishops, reformed episcopal successions, sympathetic Church Fathers and innumerable groups of reformed Christians; labels were significant as redefined terms which altered the meanings of 'Christian' and 'Catholic' in order to wreck Roman Catholicism's claim to any form of orthodox Christianity. The following discussion describes how these methods created *Christianographie*'s 'presentative world' of historically legitimate and geographically dominant Reformed Christianity.

Lists of bishops were one kind of catalogue in *Christianographie*. Tertullian and Irenaeus made lists of bishops which Roman Catholic controversialists later used to argue the legitimate succession of Peter's See. The graphic demonstrations of episcopal descent which one finds in each edition of *Christianographie*, however, were more typical of the shift away from emphatic statements of episcopal legitimacy towards more visual illustrations of it. This trend occurred amongst English episcopalians during the early seventeenth century and *Christianographie* specifically enumerated reformed archbishops, bishops, metropolitans, patriarchs, emperors and Roman popes.<sup>7</sup> In the first and second editions, these constituted the entire tenth chapter and, in the third edition, the fourteenth and fifteenth chapters. The second edition added to each list commentaries, providing a brief history of each respective church. The third edition included fuller condemnations of enumerated popes. These exhaustive lists contributed to *Christianographie*'s intimidating comprehensiveness

<sup>4</sup> Peter Heylyn, *Microcosmus, or A Little Description of the Great World* (Oxford, 1621), ¶12r.

<sup>5</sup> Pagitt, *Christianographie*, 1st edn, I, p. 15; *ibid.*, 2nd edn, I, p. 39.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 1st edn, I, p. 12; *ibid.*, 3rd edn, I, p. 11.

<sup>7</sup> Milton, *Catholic*, pp. 461-2; Pagitt, *Christianographie*, 1st edn, II, pp. 7-32; *ibid.*, 2nd edn, II, pp. 19-29; *ibid.*, 3rd edn, I, pp. 153-76.

and encyclopaedic infallibility, drawing the justification of Pagitt's claims, which the reader was invited to examine, into the text itself.

A similar listing procedure was Pagitt's enumeration of patristic sources. This conformed to the early modern practice of stacking up authorities so that resistance to a given argument was impossible. Pagitt's enumeration of nineteen points of Protestant doctrine, for example, was accompanied by the verbatim citation of a great many patristic sources to support his successive rebuttals of contradictory or differing Roman Catholic doctrines. The citation-stuffed margins were as wide as the main body of type with the Greek and Latin of weighty patristic and continental authorities.<sup>8</sup> The Patriarchs of Constantinople and Jerusalem and the Archbishop of Thessalonica seized the reader in quick succession and exclaimed their support for Pagitt. In this way, Pagitt's gallery of authorities was animated and Pagitt stepped momentarily into the background as a conductor or, more accurately, a commander, marshalling his troops against the enemy. Though a staple characteristic of early modern scholarship, this accumulation of corroborating authorities was less a list than an arrangement of sources and subjects which enclosed them within the locus of the page and re-invented their presence in the service of anti-popery.

Perhaps Pagitt's most interesting catalogue was his enumeration of the different Christians around the world: firstly, 'the East Church' included Greeks, Russians, Georgians, Mengrellians, Circassians, Syrians and Melchites; secondly, there was 'the Church of Rome'; thirdly, 'the *South or Meridianal Church*' consisted of Egypt and Ethiopia, Nestorians in parts of Asia and the Christians of Armenia; and finally, 'the Protestants of the Reformed Churches' inhabited 'a greate part of *Europe*'.<sup>9</sup> These Christian groups were all drawn from Edward Brerewood's *Enquiries Touching the Diversity of Languages, and Religions Through the Cheife* [sic] *Parts of the World* which was published in 1614.<sup>10</sup> Pagitt's additional division of the world into Old and New, however, was his own innovation. By dividing Christians geographically into Old and New World varieties and dividing them again into European, Asian, African and then North and South American kinds within those categories (before then subdividing them again denominationally), Pagitt introduced

<sup>8</sup> Pagitt, *Christianographie*, 1st edn, I, p. 56.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., I, pp. 4-5.

<sup>10</sup> Edward Brerewood, *Enquiries Touching the Diversity of Languages, and Religions Through the Cheife* [sic] *Parts of the World* (1614), pp. 124-83.

an element of taxonomy.<sup>11</sup> Taxonomy existed in much heresiology but, in *Christianographie*, anticipated the primary characteristic of *Heresiography*'s organising structure.

Flowing out of this taxonomically-structured list of Reformed Christians was an account of the geography and ecclesiastical structures in England, Ireland, Scotland, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Germany, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Hungary, Transylvania, Austria, Bohemia, Polonia (located along the Baltic), Poland, France, Spain and Italy.<sup>12</sup> This list encompassed most of Europe and Pagitt also accounted for Christians in Greece, Russia, Asia and Africa.<sup>13</sup> In the third edition of *Christianographie*, Pagitt's list became world-encompassing as he described Christians in China, Java, Malaysia, more in Africa, and Protestant immigrants in Virginia, Bermuda, Barbados, Antigua and Brazil.<sup>14</sup> Pagitt's encyclopaedic naming did not so much develop his argument as fill it out and thicken it. He attempted to pull underneath the umbrella of Protestantism as many 'Christians' as possible. They were named with encyclopaedic glee, as if the growing nomenclature of Reformed Christianity proved Pagitt's conception of world-encompassing Protestantism even before he started to argue it.

This mounting catalogue also turned careful enumeration into the impressively innumerable. Godly scare-mongers often exaggerated the threat of heretics by stressing their indetectability since an invisible threat was far more terrifying than a discernible one. Pagitt translated this strategy into the field of anti-popery by turning Protestants into an unknowable and therefore innumerable quantity: 'there are more Protestants in *Italy, Spain, and Flanders*, who dare not make profession of their Religion openly for feare', he wrote, 'then there are Papists in *England, Holland*, and other places, which professe the Protestants Religion'.<sup>15</sup> Even in the Ottoman Empire, Pagitt was convinced that Christians outnumbered their Moslem masters: 'in some places of the Turkes dominions there are ten Christians, for one Turke', he wrote with confidence.<sup>16</sup> Pagitt's purpose was to enumerate beyond measure, to include in his lists everything possible and *more*. He stressed the persecuted and thus secret

<sup>11</sup> Pagitt, *Christianographie*, 1st edn, I, p. 6.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., I, pp. 9-22.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., I, pp. 22-44.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., I, pp. 273-8.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., 3rd edn, I, p. 19.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., 2nd edn, I, p. 48.

presence of distant Protestants in order to minimise their known numbers and thus explode their possible presence. This relocated Pagitt's subject, the international Christian community, inside *Christianographie* since the evidence for such a Protestant presence in the world was his own assertion of it.

Lists recast the terrain which Pagitt examined, but he was able to reinvent his terrain at an even more fundamental level by redefining the language in which he described it. He extended and altered the meanings of words so that, by virtue of their definitions, the terms of his case were reinvented to convey and consolidate his position. Two instances of this exist: Pagitt's understanding of the word 'Christian' and his definition of the word 'Catholic'. Pagitt's attention to these words anticipated his loaded and manipulative use of sectarian labels in *Heresiography*. In both cases, as described below, Pagitt exploited an elastic relationship between words and things so that names exaggerated and even invented the things to which they were attached.

Pagitt widened his definition of 'Christian' to increase the number of Christians which *Christianographie* could accommodate. His conception of 'orthodoxy' is in this way flexible, again indicating that he was not a consistent theologian, but primarily a propagandist. Ethiopians were orthodox, Reformed Christians, he maintained, because they 'beleive [sic] the holy Trinity, that [sic] there are three persons, and one God'.<sup>17</sup> He therefore excused their polygamy, their habit of baptising themselves annually and their Jewish customs of circumcision and the consumption of only kosher meat.<sup>18</sup> Even the ritual scarring 'with a hot Iron in the temple veins, to stop distillations from falling into their eyes' was understood as a sacrament: 'they Baptise their Children, not onely with water, but also with fier'.<sup>19</sup> The 'three prickles in the face with an hot Iron', Pagitt maintained, corresponded to their conviction in the holy Trinity.<sup>20</sup> In *A Relation of the Christians in the World*, the Ethiopians' compassion was proved by their custom of allowing old men to use crutches in churches and their chastity was illustrated by their tradition of feeding adulterers to lions.<sup>21</sup> Pagitt's contemporaries, however, were less sympathetic. Thomas Hodges, speaking before Parliament in 1646, compared Ethiopian Christians to heretics who cursed God's truth because they cursed the burning sun when it rose

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., 1st edn, I, p. 111.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., I, pp. 112-3.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., I, p. 113.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., I, p. 113.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., *Relation*, pp. 50-1.

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Elsewhere, Pagitt defended other Christians against charges of Eutychianism (the belief that Christ was of one nature, rather than at once human and divine) and others under the Patriarch of Musall against charges of Nestorianism (the belief that there were two separate Persons in Christ, the human and the divine).<sup>23</sup> Christians who *were* identified as Nestorians were approvingly credited with calling the Pope a 'reprobate Bishop' though their heresiarch, Nestorius, was subsequently included in *Heresiography*, complete with an engraved portrait and a heretical ditty which described his heterodox opinions.<sup>24</sup> In the third edition of *Christianographie*, Pagitt even suggested that Transylvania, though overrun by Arians, was nevertheless true to 'Orthodoxe Doctrine'.<sup>25</sup> Armenian and Georgian Christians were 'men of the best conversation', a peculiar instance of Christian virtue that illustrates Pagitt's determination to vindicate the orthodoxy of such distant and disparate Christians.<sup>26</sup> He ignored Samuel Purchas' claim that the Maronites maintained the '*Monothelite* Heresie' which consisted in believing that Christ was of two natures but only one will.<sup>27</sup> Even 'depraved' heathens received a sympathetic hearing. Pagitt wrote that they were 'not altogether...deprived' of 'true Religion' because they knew that 'there is a God which governeth all things, and that hee is religiously to be worshipped'.<sup>28</sup>

Pagitt's understanding of the term 'Christian' was a broad one. Daniel Featley's admission that 'christian is a name which I have in common with all that in any sort beleve the gospel, and are neither Jews nor Paynims' was close to Pagitt's position.<sup>29</sup> Pagitt redefined Reformed Christianity as any form of Christianity untainted by popery and, therefore, was tempted to look kindly upon a variety of Christian heresies. By being sympathetic towards monotheists, he even spoke well of Moslems and pagans. His broad definition of 'Christian' was conspicuously unlike his narrow conception of Protestant orthodoxy in *Heresiography*. This illustrates the

<sup>22</sup> Thomas Hodges, *The Growth and Spreading of Haeresie* (1646), pp. 31-2.

<sup>23</sup> Pagitt, *Christianographie*, 1st edn, I, p. 36, p. 100.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., I, p. 100; *ibid.*, *Heresiography*, 6th edn, p. 22.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., *Christianographie*, 3rd edn, I, p. 13.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., 1st edn, I, p. 151.

<sup>27</sup> Samuel Purchas, *Microcosmus, or The Historie of Man* (1619), p. 695.

<sup>28</sup> Pagitt, *Christianographie*, 3rd edn, I, p. 180.

<sup>29</sup> Daniel Featley, *Roma Ruens* (1644), p. 3.

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<sup>28</sup> Pagitt, *Christianographie*, 3rd edn, I, p. 180.

<sup>29</sup> Daniel Featley, *Roma Ruens* (1644), p. 3.

extent to which Pagitt attempted to manipulate language: in *Christianographie*, Christian orthodoxy was stretched to include any people who were not Roman Catholic; in *Heresiography*, it contracted to exclude all but the Protestant godly.

Another term to which Pagitt paid close attention is 'Catholic'. From the Greek, καθολικός (meaning 'general, universal'), 'Catholic' was used to mean the *universal* Church of God. For Protestants, 'Catholic' was not typically used to designate Roman Catholics. Terms, such as 'Romanist', 'Romish', 'papist', 'papistical' and 'popish' were used instead. Reformed divines tried to capture 'Catholic' for themselves, considering 'Lutheran', 'Calvinist' and even 'Protestant' too divisive to be of value. The use of 'Catholic', in the words of historians, was 'an act of arrogation, a bid for the title of the "true church"' and 'a conventional point of Protestant apologetic'.<sup>30</sup> In the sixteenth century, John Bale objected to men referring to 'the catholike fayth, meanyng the Popes old tradicions'.<sup>31</sup> Roman Catholics made similar claims. The Jesuit Father Coffin accused Archbishop George Abbot of being 'a sworn enemy of the very name of Catholic'.<sup>32</sup>

'Catholic' was a particularly slippery word. In 1630, Lady Margaret Wotton set over the tomb of her dead Roman Catholic husband two declensions of the word *catholicus*. The High Commission Court promptly fined her and commanded her to obliterate the words. But the ambivalence of *catholicus* is illustrated when, upon Lady Wotton's removal of the words, local villagers complained and she was again hauled before the High Commission Court. It was only during her trial that members of the High Commission recalled that they had themselves commanded her to remove the words.<sup>33</sup> Some Protestants understandably mistrusted the label. The translators of the King James Bible admitted that Roman Catholics 'call us by the same right that they call themselves Catholikes, both being wrong'.<sup>34</sup> It is unsurprising that Pagitt paid such close attention to a contentious label which was able to advance his argument within the locus of a very name.

Specifically, Pagitt appropriated the term 'Catholic' through verbal subtlety and demonstrative argument rather than indignant counter-claim. In the first edition of

<sup>30</sup> William Waterworth, *England and Rome: or The History of the Religious Connection Between England and the Holy See* (London: Burns & Lambert, 1854), p. 120; Walsham, p. 8; Milton, *Catholic*, p. 151.

<sup>31</sup> Bale, g8r.

<sup>32</sup> Cited in Tyacke, 'Puritanism', p. 125.

<sup>33</sup> CUL, MS Dd. ii. 21, fol. 157r.

<sup>34</sup> *The Holy Bible* (1612), B2r.

*Christianographie*, Roman Catholics were accused of perverting the meaning of the word 'Catholic' and the Word itself:

[M]ost of the Doctrines before named, now taught and urged for Catholike in the *Roman Church*, were neither the Doctrines of the other Christians in *Europe, Asia, and Africa*, nor the antient *Roman, Easterne, Southerne* Churches, nor of *Gregory* the great, Bishop of *Rome*, who sent *Austen* hither, nor of the antient Britaines our forefathers.<sup>35</sup>

Instead, Pagitt claimed that 'the Church of God [is] not...in *Rome* onely, but [is] Catholike, and dispersed over the face of the whole Earth.'<sup>36</sup> In fact, 'Catholics' were not in Rome at all because 'their difference in opinions amongst themselves, and...their new doctrines; differ from all the true Catholike Churches of the world, yea, even from holy Scriptures it selfe'.<sup>37</sup> In *A Relation of the Christians in the World*, Roman Catholics were no better than Donatists who 'tearme themselves *Catholiks*', but remained '*in a corner of Africa*'.<sup>38</sup> Pagitt was suggesting that many and diverse Christians, from branded Ethiopians to well-behaved heathens, had a greater claim to the term. Binding together his redefinition of 'Christian' and his reapplication of 'Catholic', Pagitt described the broader conception of orthodoxy which accommodated so many Christians but excluded Roman Catholics:

[T]hrough the mercifull goodnesse of *God*, all these different sorts of *Christians*...agree in one substance of *Faith*: and are so farre forth *Orthodoxe*, that they retain a saving *Profession* of all duties absolutely necessary to salvation, and are members of the true Catholike *Church of God*.<sup>39</sup>

These key terms, 'Christian', 'Catholic' and here 'Orthodox', provided the verbal corroboration for Pagitt's reinterpretation of the world's religious demography. Pagitt's manipulation of these words excluded Roman Catholics and legitimised his own conception of a pan-Christian Protestantism which could become 'the whole true

<sup>35</sup> Pagitt, *Christianographie*, 1st edn, I, pp. 149-50.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., II, p. 51.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., 1st edn, I, pp. 129-031 [130].

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., *Relation*, p. 60.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., p. 48.



Catholike Church of God'.<sup>40</sup> Pagitt's ploy was sly sophistry rather than scholarly argument since the corroboration of his position was contrived through the words he used, the logic he employed and the nature of the content which constituted his text. Along with his use of lists and catalogues, Pagitt's attention to labelling and manipulating names looked forward to *Heresiography*.

One must not forget that another very conspicuous feature of Pagitt's de-Catholicised 'presentative world' is the large number of maps which were included, atlas-like, in the three editions of *Christianographie*. This was how *Christianographie* presented itself as *A Description* but functioned, as it were, as *An Argument* by wrapping the world up in itself. As something of a religious atlas, *Christianographie* re-invented the demography of Protestantism with maps, lists and catalogues. These appeared to be objective forms of expression but in fact constituted a text as indignantly polemical as anything John Bale ever wrote. Indeed, the extent to which these techniques were intended to turn *Christianographie* and, for that matter, *Heresiography* into authoritatively objective texts is suggested by their very titles and, specifically, by the conspicuous suffixal component, *-graphie* (or *-graphy*). The most common word with this suffix is 'geography' and it was this discipline upon which *Christianographie* so clearly drew.

The suffix *-graphy* is conventionally attached to nouns of abstract action or function which, according to the *OED*, refer to 'processes or styles of writing, drawing, or graphic representation' and, more interestingly, to 'descriptive sciences'.<sup>41</sup> Indeed, both words, *Christianographie* and *Heresiography*, were neologisms and, like much heresiology, the works themselves claimed to be early 'scientific' efforts: exercises in scholarly observation and descriptive documentation rather than bitter polemic. At least one historian of science suggests that much 'geography' was elicited by an expanding view of the world which demanded that the coherence and credibility of Protestantism and Roman Catholicism be vigorously asserted against new faiths as well as each other. By attempting to do this rationally, 'geographies', such as *Christianographie*, were indeed part of an early 'scientific' project.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., *Christianographie*, 1st edn, I, p. 150.

<sup>41</sup> *OED Online*. <<http://dictionary.oed.com/cgi/entry/00097973>>

<sup>42</sup> Richard S. Westfall, *Science and Religion in Seventeenth-Century England*, repr. (London: Yale University, 1964; first published 1958), p. 4.

Though the 'scientific' credentials of heresiology will be discussed in the next chapter, other words develop the disciplinary context in which the titles of *Christianographie* and *Heresiography* found themselves. Other than 'geography', itself coined in the late sixteenth century, the growth of 'descriptive sciences' in the seventeenth century was rapid, occasioned by technological developments. 'Cometography' (the study of comets) and 'selenography' (the study of the moon) were both established as telescopes allowed greater scrutiny of the heavens. 'Cosmography', coined in the mid-sixteenth century, was largely synonymous with 'geography' and became the title of Peter Heylyn's enlarged geography of 1657.<sup>43</sup> Heylyn himself popularised the use of hydrography, topography and chorography.<sup>44</sup> All these words relied upon the idea of observing and describing a phenomenon, be it geographical, celestial or religious. Pagitt even employed indefinite articles when he described his decision to write 'an *Heresiography* to describe the Hereticks and Schismaticks of this time', having already 'published a *Christianography*, or a description of many great Churches of Christians in the world'.<sup>45</sup> Pagitt would have had his readers believe that christianography and heresiography were 'descriptive sciences', like geography and cosmography, rather than titles of books.

As noted in the previous chapter, the thrust of *Christianographie* was first preached by Pagitt from his pulpit and its account of the relative distribution of Protestants and Catholics on the planet was novel. Other sermons which preached Protestant community were more evangelical than geographical and argued Christ's immanent benevolence and guardianship over the community of saints. James Ussher described in one sermon a 'spirituall and supernatural community' with 'no locall presence, no physicall nor mathematicall continuity or contiguity in any way'.<sup>46</sup> Pagitt's novel pan-planetary scope involved developments in geographical and cartographical learning which transformed his project into a pseudo-scientific exercise. Its listing, cataloguing and efficacious definition of terms, however, turned its own content into a polemically advantageous feature of what masqueraded as

<sup>43</sup> Francis Bacon, *Francis Bacon: A Critical Edition of the Major Works*, ed. Brian Vickers (Oxford: OUP, 1996), p. 183; Joseph Allen Bryant, 'Milton and the Art of History: A Study of Two Influences on a *Brief History of Moscovia*', *Philological Quarterly*, 29 (1950), 15-30, p. 28.

<sup>44</sup> Heylyn, p. 10.

<sup>45</sup> Pagitt, *Heresiography*, 1st edn, A4<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>46</sup> James Ussher, *The Substance of that Which Was Delivered in a Sermon Before the Commons House of Parliament, in S. Margarets Church at Westminster, the 18. of February, 1620* (1620), p. 19; an unpublished sermon on Genesis 28 by Samuel Rutherford, see Coffey, *Rutherford*, p. 229.

scholarship and a concern for clarity. Contrived erudition thus obscured the controversial purpose of *Christianographie*, but anticipated *Heresiography*'s similar ambitions. One critic describes the imaginative impact of *Christianographie* by suggesting that when a text is raised 'to the dimensions of a catalogue, a nomenclature, or a survey' it can be nothing 'other than fictive'.<sup>47</sup> This chapter will now attend to examining how *Heresiography* employed the documentary techniques established in *Christianographie* - the use of lists and labels - to indeed fictionalise the radicalism it described.

### ***Heresiography: Heresy-Lists and Heretical Labels***

Like *Christianographie*, *Heresiography* was a rapidly-expanding catalogue, whose encyclopaedic momentum prompted its successive editions. Whereas *Christianographie* proclaimed itself 'a Catalogue of Churches', however, *Heresiography* was quite explicitly what William Lee called 'a full Catalogue' of heresy, enumerating, as the title-page declared, '*the Heretickes and Sectaries of these Latter times*'.<sup>48</sup>

*Heresiography* was one of many heresy-lists which appeared in the 1640s. Peter Lake observes that 'by the early 1640s, the formal structures of authority ("censorship" very broadly defined) with which the order- and orthodoxy-obsessed tendencies and tenets of mainstream puritanism had co-operated to keep [the puritan underground] more or less under ground, had largely collapsed'.<sup>49</sup> Print radicalism snowballed, increasing the spread of ideas and raising the stakes in relatively private disputes by depersonalising quarrels and generating full-blown theological debates. The authority of print moved debates into a public realm far wider than that surrounding pulpits and parishes. Radicals appealed keenly to public authority, but Lake is right to insist upon the wider context:

[S]uch tactics were by no means a 'radical' monopoly...a different assumption of essentially the same assumptions and manoeuvres underlay

<sup>47</sup> Roger Chartier, *The Order of Books: Readers, Authors, and Libraries in Europe Between the Fourteenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Cambridge: Polity, 1994; first published 1992), p. 88.

<sup>48</sup> Pagitt, *Heresiography*, 6th edn, p. 270; *ibid.*, 1st edn, π1r.

<sup>49</sup> Lake, *Boxmaker's Revenge*, p. 410.

the polemical career of presbyterians like Thomas Edwards, as they sought to mobilise the impulses and revulsions of decent godly folk against the extremism of the sects.<sup>50</sup>

Heresy-lists were indeed the widespread response of godly ministers against the radical threat and Edwards is commonly cited as the foremost heresy-hunter of the time. Jonathan Scott suggests that '[i]t is in *Gangraena* that we *first* encounter radicalism as an extraordinary list: Brownists, Beheminists [sic], nudist Adamites, Arians, anabaptists, atheists, antichristians, Antinomians, anarchists'.<sup>51</sup> But this is mistaken. Extraordinary lists of heresies began to appear in the early 1640s and, as I suggested in the first chapter, can be seen as expressions of what Lake calls 'the order- and orthodoxy-obsessed tendencies and tenets of mainstream puritanism' after the abolition of 'formal structures of authority' such as the High Commission Court. Heresy-lists, as well as radical texts, spread ideas increasingly quickly and as local spats were depersonalised and elevated to the heights of theological debate, 'orthodox' writers turned their 'radical' opponents into exaggerated caricatures. The following discussion examines *Heresiography*'s presence amidst this often overlooked and turbulent milieu which existed well before Edwards attempted to describe it in 1646.

The early 1640s witnessed a proliferation of heresy-lists which were less compendious *summae* of heresies than hysterical, or sometimes satirical, reactions to the church's fragmentation. John Taylor wrote:

For in Saint Austins time, he made complaint,  
That eighty two Sects did the Church attaint;  
Since when, could I all heresies recount,  
The number (trouble) treble will amount.<sup>52</sup>

Heresy-lists dated from the early Christian era, but the quantity written in the early 1640s - and the quantity of heresies they listed - was unprecedented. Pamphlets such as *A Discovery of 29. Sects Here in London* (1641), *The Divisions of the Church of*

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., p. 362.

<sup>51</sup> Scott, p. 238, my italics.

<sup>52</sup> John Taylor, *A Swarme of Sectaries, and Schismatiques* (1641), p. 17.

*England Crept in at XV. Several Doors* (1642) and *XXXIII. Religions, Sects, Societies, and Factions* (1643) were popular.<sup>53</sup> By 1646, Thomas Edwards could enumerate 'sixteen heads or sorts of sectaries' and, over the course of *Gangraena*'s three parts, two hundred and sixty-six errors.<sup>54</sup> Heresy-lists were widely-read, fuelling godly hysteria and infuriating sectarian opinion. It was probably *Gangraena* which Robert Boyle was reading in 1646 when he wrote in October of that year (at which point Edwards had enumerated 213 errors) that London 'entertains...no less then 200 several opinions in point of religion'.<sup>55</sup>

The accumulation of identified and *named* heresies was a heresiological ploy, indicating the variety of threats and arguing the veracity of impressively comprehensive heresy-lists. Even city petitions listed heresies. A City petition in January 1643 lamented 'Brownists, Anabaptists, and all manner of Sectaries'; another in May 1646 added 'Schismaticks', 'Hereticks' and 'Blasphemers'; another in April 1648 enumerated 'Socinianism, Arminianism, Arianism, Anabaptism, Antinomianism, Erastianism, Familism, Brownism, and Independency'.<sup>56</sup> In order to sell more copies of an otherwise bland defence of Calvinism, one bookseller even altered the title-page, turning a brief list of ungodly types in the midst of the text (such as 'profane men', 'slothfull Professors' and so on) into a titular heresy-list enumerating Papists, Arminians, Antinomians and Anabaptists.<sup>57</sup> William Walwyn attacked the 'millions of books, and...innumerable Sermons; whereby the people are divided, and subdivided into Factions, Sects and parties'.<sup>58</sup> By the 1650s, John Taylor considered 'a Recitall of the Names and Opinions of many and detestable Heretiques, Heresies, and blasphemous wretches' to be so commonplace as best avoided, though he nevertheless listed the names of seventeen types of sectary and identified seven notorious radicals.<sup>59</sup> By this time, lists of sectaries were printed as much to name and shame as to mock some of their eccentric habits such as miming the Bible and trying

<sup>53</sup> Other impressive heresy-lists include Richard Carter, *The Schismaticke Stigmatized* (1641), pp. 1-10; John Taylor, *Religions Enemies* (1641), passim; *ibid.*, *Religions Lotterie, or The Churches Amazement* (1642), passim; John Graunt, *Truths Victory Against Heresie* (1645), passim; Richard Braithwaite, *A Mustur [sic] Roll of the Evill Angels Embattled Against S,[sic] Michael* (1655), passim.

<sup>54</sup> Edwards, *Gangraena*, I, p. 15, pp. 18-36, p. 180; II, pp. 1-3, pp. 141-2; III, pp. 1-17.

<sup>55</sup> Cited in J. R. Jacobs, 'The Ideological Origins of Robert Boyle's Natural Philosophy', *Journal of European Studies*, 2 (1972), 1-21, p. 3.

<sup>56</sup> *Parliamentary History*, III, p. 54, p. 477, p. 885.

<sup>57</sup> Robert Squire, *The Arraignement and Condemnation of the Chiefe Heresies and Errours of these Times* (1645), A1', pp. 17-8.

<sup>58</sup> William Walwyn, *The Vanitie of the Present Churches, and Uncertainty of their Preaching, Discovered* (1649), p. 38.



to raise the dead.<sup>60</sup> It was in the immediate context of such pamphlet-catalogues that *Heresiography* emerged as a response to the kind of indignant question which Milton posed in the early 1640s: 'What Sects? What are their opinions? give us the Inventory'.<sup>61</sup>

Figure 2 (overleaf) illustrates the evolution of *Heresiography* as an inventory of heresy. Although *The Mysticall Wolfe* and *Heresiography* are separate works, one a sermon and the other the heresy-list which grew out of it, they are so closely bound together in subject that figure 2 considers them together. *The Mysticall Wolfe*, of course, was not a catalogue, but I have included those sects which evidently developed into *Heresiography*'s heresies. Names from William Lee's *A Brief Collection Out of Master Pagitt's Book Called Heresiography* in figure 2 are those which Lee paraded across his title-page as the heresies dealt with in *Heresiography*. In addition to those enumerated in figure 2, however, Lee included Arians, Libertines, Sabbatarians, Separatists and Apostolics since his aim was no doubt to amplify the sectarian threat and advertise Pagitt's much-needed attack upon it.<sup>62</sup> To exaggerate the sectarian threat in *Heresiography*'s successive editions, the text was evidently expanded and made increasingly comprehensive. This is precisely the same principle behind *Christianographie*'s project to wrap the world up in itself and represent it in a polemically advantageous form. But figure 2 requires further comment.

Sections are only marked 'enlarged' if the additions are quantitatively substantial (such as letters, documents, anecdotes and so on). Numerous amendments exist in successive editions, but these are often minor or else the result of editorial whimsy or compositorial error. The 1662 '6th' edition, moreover, is technically an issue, despite the additions, since no more than 10-15% of the type was reset.<sup>63</sup> It is included in figure 2, however, because it contained a substantial amount of new material. Drawing attention to the growth of *Heresiography* underlines the encyclopaedic momentum and scholarly ambitions which it shares with *Christianographie*. The repeated document in the fifth and sixth editions of *Heresiography*, 'An Extract of the Acts of the Nationall Synod of (continued, p. 97)

<sup>59</sup> John Taylor, *Ranters of Both Sexes, Male and Female* (1651), p. 2, pp. 2-4.

<sup>60</sup> Anon, *A List of Some of the Grand Blasphemers and Blasphemies Which Was Given to the Committee for Religion* (1654), passim.

<sup>61</sup> *CPIWJM*, I, p. 787.

<sup>62</sup> Pagitt, *A Brief Collection Out of Master Pagitt's Book Called Heresiography* (1646), p. 1.

<sup>63</sup> Philip Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography*, repr. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1979; first published 1973), pp. 315-6.

Figure 2. *Heresiography's* Structure

SECTION	EDITION								
	<i>Wolfe</i> (1645)	1st (1645)	2nd (1645)	<i>Lee's Col.</i> (1646)	3rd (1646)	4th (1647)	5th (1654)	6th (1661)	'6th' (1662)
Introductory letter									x
Dedicatory epistle		x	x		x	x	x	x	x
Preface to the reader		x	x		x	x	x	x	x
A catalogue of books								x	
Stationer's preface								x	x
Anabaptists	x	x	x	x	x †	x	x	x	x
Brownists	x	x	x †	-	x	x	x	x	x
Independents	x	x	x	-	x †	x	x	x	x
An extract of the acts of the National Synod					x	x	x	x	x
Familists	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Adamites		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Antinomians	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Arminians	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Socinians	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Anti-trinitarians	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Millenarians	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Hetheringtonians	x	x	x †		x	x	x	x	x
Anti-Sabbatarians	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Traskites	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x †	x
Jesuits	x	x	x	x	x ‡	x	x	x	x
Pelagians	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Soule-sleepers			x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Deny the Scriptures			x	x <sup>o</sup>	x <sup>o</sup>	x <sup>o</sup>	x <sup>o</sup>	x <sup>o</sup>	x <sup>o</sup>
Seekers and Expecters			x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Divorcers			x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Papists	x		x		x	x	x	x	x
Quakers and Shakers							x	x	x
Ranters							x	x	x
A comparison of sectaries and papists			x		x	x	x	x	x
Postscript			x		x	x	x	x	x
Fifth Monarchists								x	x †
An extract of the acts of the National Synod			x				x *	x *	
A vindication of Presbyterianism									x
A list of the restored episcopacy									x
A plea for peace									x
An alphabetical table						x	x	x	x
A short book list							x		

## Note:

- Sections enlarged (†); sections reduced (‡); sections repeated (\*); now known as 'Antiscripturians' (°).

the Reformed Churches of *France*', first appeared as a French text alongside an English translation on 28th January 1645.<sup>64</sup> The synod met in Charatoun in December 1644 and condemned Independency as a 'poyson' which gave rise to 'all kinde[s] of Singularities and Extravagancies...most dangerous to the State'.<sup>65</sup> Pagitt omitted the French and cited the English translation largely verbatim (though he amended most of the spelling). Its inclusion recalled *Christianographie*'s internationalism and exemplified Protestant solidarity against the sectarian threat.

The presence of engravings in *Heresiography* recalled *Christianographie*'s cartographic richness. *Heresiography*'s 1661 sixth edition was supplemented by engravings of several heresiarchs: John of Leiden, Nestorius, an Adamite, Lelio Sozzini, Arius, Pelagius and James Naylor.<sup>66</sup> Some of these engravings (especially those of the Adamite and Arius) probably inspired the engravings of heresiarchs attached to the second edition of Alexander Ross' *IIANΣEBEIA*.<sup>67</sup> Each engraving in *Heresiography* included a short verse, summarising each subject's particular heresy. These were less the accurate description of a heresy than its distillation into an easily memorable ditty which caught the imagination as the engravings caught the eye. The 'sixth' edition of 1662 added engravings of Thomas Venner, the Fifth Monarchist, and a personified image of Peace.<sup>68</sup>

If *Heresiography*'s structural features pointed to similarities with *Christianographie*, the labels which arranged its content indicated *Heresiography*'s increasing heresiological sophistication. Indeed, the numerous sectarian labels were the most memorable feature of the text. There were so many that some were repeated: Arminians, for example, were guilty of 'down-right Pelagianisme', but this did not stop the second edition including a new section on Pelagians.<sup>69</sup> Other repeated labels doubled-up, spreading the heresiological umbrella wider than the text's ostensible categories. Arians were omitted in *Heresiography* but advertised in *The Mystical Wolfe* and *A Brief Collection* because Antitrinitarians were, in *Heresiography*, also 'new Arrians'.<sup>70</sup> This resulted in confusion. William Lee advertised the presence of

<sup>64</sup> Anon, *An Extract of the Acts of the Nationall Synod of the Reformed Churches of France* (1644), p. 1, passim.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid., p. 6.

<sup>66</sup> Pagitt, *Heresiography*, 6th edn, p. 2, p. 22, p. 117, p. 152, p. 155, p. 229, p. 244.

<sup>67</sup> Henrick Lodevik Van Haestens, *Apocalypsis: or, The Revelations of Certain Notorious Advances of Heresie*, trans. John Davies, bound with Alexander Ross, *IIANΣEBEIA: or, A View of All Religions in the World*, 2nd edn (1655), p. 37, p. 55.

<sup>68</sup> Pagitt, *Heresiography*, '6th' edn, p. 280, p. 308.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid., 1st edn, p. 110; *ibid.*, 2nd edn, pp. 138-9.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid., *Wolfe*, p. 6; *ibid.*, *Brief Collection*, pp. 6-7; *ibid.*, *Heresiography*, 1st edn, p. 118.

Libertines who claimed that 'the Rule of Law, is not a Rule of life' in his *Brief Collection* even though Pagitt did not include them in *Heresiography*.<sup>71</sup> Lee then referred to Antinomians on his title-page, who Pagitt *did* catalogue, but forgot the name in his brief summary, referring to them as those who embraced '*Libertinisme*' as if they were also Libertines.<sup>72</sup> But the repetition and confusion of labels in *Heresiography* is not the most significant subject of study here: of central interest is the process of heresiological labelling itself.

Heresiological labelling was a common and complex issue. To understand it more fully, it is necessary to examine its functions and effects. Labels were often derived from a founding heresiarch, a place of origin or a characteristic religious practice. An English translation of Frederick Spanheim's attack upon Anabaptists named forty-four kinds of Anabaptist according to their leaders, places and cities of origin or habitation, behaviour and beliefs.<sup>73</sup> In the opening chapter, I suggested that name-calling was inextricably bound up with the religious polemic of the 1620s and '30s which informed the anti-sectarian disputes of the 1640s. Labelling was, I argued, largely reductive and based upon theological content only in order to turn or stretch the labelled opinions into increasingly unpopular or eccentric ones. Arminianism, for example, turned into Semipelagianism, Pelagianism, popery and even Anabaptism.

This held with sectarian labels too. Arminianism was sometimes lumped together with Antinomianism since both flirted with a freer form of grace than Protestant orthodoxy permitted.<sup>74</sup> William Walwyn, who admitted to being called both 'a great Annabaptist' and 'a great Antinomian', complained that Thomas Edwards attributed the labels Independent, Brownist, Anabaptist, Antinomian and Seeker to people who simply considered tithes to be 'ceremonious popish, and...enforced maintenance for ministers under the Gospel'.<sup>75</sup> Pagitt provides examples of similarly reductive labelling when he defined a series of positions with unforgivably inaccurate, incomplete definitions: Roman Catholics deified 'a meer creature' by worshipping saints; Lutherans merely maintained the doctrine of

<sup>71</sup> Ibid., *Brief Collection*, p. 8.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid., p. 19.

<sup>73</sup> Frederick Spanheim, *England's Warning by Germany's Woe: or, An Historical Narration, of the Originall, Progressse, Tenets, Names, and Severall Sects of the Anabaptists in Germany, and the Low Countries* (1646), pp. 18-26.

<sup>74</sup> Joan S. Bennet, *Reviving Liberty: Radical Christian Humanism in Milton's Great Poem* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University, 1989), p. 105.

<sup>75</sup> William Walwyn, *A Whisper in the Eare of Mr. Thomas Edwards Minister* (1646), p. 10, pp. 1-2.

consubstantiation; Anabaptists simply believed that Christ was not born of the Virgin Mary; Libertines denied the existence of a 'visible Church' from which Brownists simply separated.<sup>76</sup> Pagitt even described the bookish, highly theological heresy of Socinianism in what one historian calls 'a vague way' as if he was unacquainted with the Socinian texts which informed more thorough critiques.<sup>77</sup> Very few sectarian labels represented theological positions sincerely, if at all. In the following discussion, however, I wish to begin sketching how such labelling projected sects out of these sectarian labels or, rather, made things out of names.

We must remember that such labels were invariably rejected by those to whom they were applied. Thomas Edwards recorded that sectaries claimed that 'they are no Independents, no Antinomians, no Anabaptists, but they are thus, and thus, and will be so and so; and these are reproachfull names given out, and cast upon honest, godly, conscientious men...as Puritan, and such like, were in former times by the Bishops'.<sup>78</sup> John Milton attacked not only the bishops' attribution of 'Puritan', but the labels 'Brownist', 'Famelist' and 'Adamite':

As for those terrible names of Sectaries and Schismaticks which ye have got together, we know your manner of fight, when the quiver of your arguments which is ever thin, and weakly stor'd, after the first brunt is quite empty, your course is to betake ye to your other quiver of slander, wherein lyes your best archery. And whom ye could not move by sophisticall arguing, them you think to confute by scandalous misnaming. Thereby inciting the blinder sort of people to mislike and deride sound doctrine and good christianity under two or three vile and hateful terms.<sup>79</sup>

Names were difficult to quarrel with: sticks and stones might be bone-breaking, but names packed greater polemical punch. Even when vigorously denied, as Milton admitted, they could persuade 'the blinder sort of people' that heresy was rife by evoking spurious stereotypes and caricatures which were but the 'meere fictions and

<sup>76</sup> Pagitt, *Heresiography*, 1st edn, p. 71.

<sup>77</sup> H. John McLachlan, *Socinianism in Seventeenth-Century England* (London: OUP, 1951), p. 136; see Francis Cheynell, *The Rise, Growth, and Danger of Socinianisme* (1643), passim.

<sup>78</sup> Edwards, *Gangraena*, II, p. 142.

<sup>79</sup> *CPWJM*, I, p. 788.



false alarms of the Prelates'.<sup>80</sup> Patrick Collinson convincingly demonstrates that the label 'Puritan' at least, in the early seventeenth century, 'was principally a term of more or less vulgar abuse'.<sup>81</sup> There is no reason to believe that sectarian labels were anything else.

These labels can be more readily understood by examining Collinson's work on puritanism more deeply:

Modern historians could have spared much of their effort to arrive at a 'correct' definition of puritanism if it had been more clearly understood that we are dealing with a term of art and stigmatisation which became a weapon of some verbal finesse but no philosophical precision.<sup>82</sup>

Collinson pursues an idea which he calls 'the nominalist-relativist approach'. This supposes that the attribution of a label corresponds to the political and social status of the labelled 'sect'. In this way, Collinson identifies a rationale behind naming which extended beyond mere 'name-calling' and embraced the necessarily detailed social and religious context in which naming occurred. This has prompted Alexandra Walsham to observe that 'nicknames, derogatory epithets like "papist" and "puritan" are indices not so much of popery and puritanism, as of anti-popery and anti-puritanism'.<sup>83</sup> Names tell us more about the anxieties of the namer than the activities of the named. Labels are an index by which one can measure the volatility and violence of religious debate; and labelling itself is the sharp edge of that volatility and violence. More importantly, labels draw upon a notion of conflict which exists at the heart of naming because opponents labelled one another in opposition to themselves.

This provides a recognisable dynamic from which labels derived their meaning and significance. Historians such as Patrick Collinson and Alexandra Walsham draw heavily upon the sociological study of labelling and philosophical linguistics to explore the notion of conflict which underlies much labelling. Labelling theory, for example, is a branch of sociology which explores what kinds of behaviour prompt the attribution of certain labels and how those labels can influence the behaviour of those to whom they are applied. This discipline has gravitated towards the study of contemporary

<sup>80</sup> Ibid., I, p. 794.

<sup>81</sup> Patrick Collinson, *English Puritanism* (London: Chameleon, 1983), p. 7, pp. 7-11.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid., p. 10.

deviance and only one such study has broached the attribution of labels in a radical puritan context.<sup>84</sup> Labelling theorists suggest that labelling occurs at the point of conflict between social groups. The more powerful group not only determines what is normal but ostracises and labels what is correspondingly deviant. Labelling theorists go so far as to say that this creates deviant subcultures which consolidate, construct and radicalise deviant identities because people are locked into the status of social pariahs or, in the context of religious 'orthodoxy', heretics.

But this brings us towards the heresiological chicken and egg: did the heretic come first or his (or her) label? Labelling theory illustrates the point that labelling occurs amidst social conflict when society reacts *against* what is considered deviant or, in a heresiological context, 'heretical'. In considering what is deviant or heretical, labelling is seen to define cultural or group boundaries: by specifying what it considers to be deviant, a given group expresses its anxieties and fears. These knit the group together, uniting it against a common opponent. In the religious debates of the seventeenth century, this was commonplace. In the 1620s, Laudian ministers were branded 'Arminian' and 'Popish' by traditional Protestants who were, in turn, labelled 'Puritans' by their opponents; in the 1630s, godly ministers labelled those they considered to be too puritanical as 'Brownists', 'Antinomians' and 'Separatists' in order to define and defend their own position and save themselves from similar accusations by those they considered 'Arminian'; in the 1640s, with the 'Arminian' faction defeated, Presbyterians used accusations of sectarianism to advance their attacks against toleration. 'Old Protestants', such as Pagitt, labelled sectaries in order to align themselves with the Presbyterian polemics against toleration and to defend the integrity and unity of the English Church. Even in the 1650s, with a degree of religious toleration permitted, many Quakers continued to label enthusiastic members of their own kind as Ranters in an effort to enforce conformity of behaviour and belief. One historian describes this context as 'a cacophonous circus of charge and countercharge, of polemic and counterpolemic in which each sect described its more radical opponents as truly dangerous and absurd and their more conservative foes as

<sup>83</sup> Walsham, p. 111.

<sup>84</sup> Erikson, *Wayward Puritans*, passim. For a selection of some useful studies in labelling and deviance see Kai. T. Erikson, 'The Social Construction of Deviants', in Earl Rubington and Martin S. Weinberg, eds, *The Study of Social Problems: Five Perspectives* (New York: OUP, 1971), pp. 175-86; Edwin M. Schur, *Labelling Deviant Behaviour: Its Sociological Implications* (New York: Harper & Row, 1971), passim; Walter Gove, ed., *The Labelling of Deviance: Evaluating a Perspective*, 2nd edn (London: Sage Publications, 1980), passim.

papists and toadies'.<sup>85</sup> Labelling in the seventeenth century was certainly and inextricably bound up with the politics of conflict.

From this perspective, it is possible to examine labelling more closely by referring to Ludwig Wittgenstein. 'Where two principles really do meet which cannot be reconciled with one another', he writes, 'then each man declares the other a fool and a heretic'.<sup>86</sup> Correspondingly, Collinson cites scriptural commonplaces, such as Ecclesiasticus 42:24, which account for the binary, irreconcilable oppositions which characterised much polemic. He describes the juxtaposition, for example, of 'Puritan' against 'Anti-Puritan' as a form of scripturally-derived argument.<sup>87</sup> Drawing upon Wittgenstein, he goes on to identify 'conflict games' as a means of producing the 'great bugbears' of anti-sectarian polemic:

Real and exaggerated components were brought together into an idealized whole that we can find distastefully artificial but which clearly served significant descriptive and prescriptive functions at the same time, and coloured contemporary perceptions of reality.<sup>88</sup>

Collinson's notion of a 'conflict game' is not only based upon the Wittgensteinian notion of labelling in terms of opposition, but Wittgenstein's own 'language games'. Though Collinson omits to do so, an account of 'language games' provides even greater insights into the functions and effects of labelling. Indeed, an examination of language games suggests how heresiological labels projected sects out of sectarian labels. Like *Christianographie*, which wrapped the world up in its text and reinvented it, I will suggest how heresiological labels in *Heresiography* and other heresy-lists reinvented out of their own text the sectarianised world they claimed to describe.

Language games describe how language operates. To cite Wittgenstein, they are simply 'primitive forms of language or primitive languages' which explore 'the problems of truth and falsehood, of the agreement and disagreement of propositions with reality, of the nature of assertion, assumption, and question'. In other words, a language game is a linguistic microcosm in which 'the mental mist which seems to

<sup>85</sup> Friedman, *Miracles*, p. 88.

<sup>86</sup> Ludwig Wittgenstein, *On Certainty*, eds. G. E. M. Anscombe and G. H. von Wright, trans. Denis Paul and G. E. M. Anscombe (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1974; first published 1969), §611.

<sup>87</sup> Collinson, *Puritan Character*, pp. 25-6, p. 23.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 22, p. 26.

enshroud our ordinary use of language disappears' because one is able to witness and therefore examine the operation of, say, name-calling as an isolated and therefore more transparent process.<sup>89</sup> I am suggesting that heresy-lists offer precisely such a microcosm of religious polemic in which one is able to see how names have descriptive functions and prescriptive, evocative capabilities that endow sects with a purportedly real, if not physical, presence. Indeed, one historian writes, 'terminology not only flowed from religious thought and belief but in its turn influenced religious thought'.<sup>90</sup> Likewise, Collinson suggests that '[p]aradigms...which were deployed to construct and manipulate a semblance of reality, soon became part of the reality on which they imposed themselves'.<sup>91</sup> Peter Lake also relies upon the notion of paradigms (borrowed from Thomas Kuhn via J. G. A. Pocock) when he remarks that 'the categories and divisions devised by and adopted by contemporaries to structure reality were also part of the reality they structured'.<sup>92</sup> Reality was structured by the text but the application of Wittgenstein's ideas permits the suggestion that it emerged *from* the text.

If Derrida suggests that there is nothing outside of the text, it is Wittgenstein who locates the world inside the text. He suggests that 'understanding a sentence, we say, points to a reality outside the sentence [but] one might say "Understanding a sentence means getting hold of its content; and the content of the sentence is *in* the sentence"'.<sup>93</sup> This means that a sentence can obtain meaning from its own content and coherence rather than a corroborating, exterior reality. One example of Wittgenstein's position is his refusal to believe that the statement 'Excalibur has a sharp blade' is nonsensical because Excalibur does not exist. Rather, he suggests that meaning can exist *without* a concrete subject or, rather, that a sentence or, specifically, a name can

<sup>89</sup> Ludwig Wittgenstein, *The Blue and Brown Books: Preliminary Studies for the Philosophical Investigations*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1969; first published 1958), p. 17.

<sup>90</sup> Thomas H. Clancy, 'Papist-Protestant-Puritan: English Religious Taxonomy 1565-1665', *Recusant History*, 13 (1976), 227-253, p. 227.

<sup>91</sup> Patrick Collinson, 'The Theatre Constructs Puritanism', in David Bevington, David L. Smith, and Richard Strier, eds, *The Theatrical City: Culture, Theatre and Politics in London, 1576-1649* (Cambridge: CUP, 1995), pp. 157-69, p. 169.

<sup>92</sup> Peter Lake, 'Defining Puritanism - Again?', in Francis J. Bremer, ed., *Puritanism: Transatlantic Perspectives on a Seventeenth-Century Anglo-American Faith* (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1993), pp. 3-29, pp. 17-8; *ibid.*, *Boxmaker's Revenge*, p. 47. Lake consciously summarises an argument made by J. G. A. Pocock in *Politics, Language and Time: Essays on Political Thought and History* (London: Methuen & Co., 1972; first published 1960), p. 38, an inspection of which emphasises the degree to which Lake is referring to Pocock's 'linguistic' paradigms (pp. 14-5), a transformation of Thomas Kuhn's use of the term, see Thomas S. Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (London: University of Chicago, 1962), p. 10, *passim*.

<sup>93</sup> Wittgenstein, *Books*, p. 187.

be meaningful even when it does not name *anything*.<sup>94</sup> This makes the point that calling someone, for example, a Puritan was harmful even if, like Milton, one considered the label to be a 'meere fiction'. Sectarian labels did not require sectaries to have an impact.

If such a name was a 'meer fiction', it remains to suggest why it was so harmful. Wittgenstein suggests that '[t]o understand a sentence means to understand a language. To understand a language means to be master of a technique'. A 'technique', according to Wittgenstein, is the set of 'rules' according to which a language acquires its meaning.<sup>95</sup> These rules, as far as we have encountered them, were reductive: they approximated theological positions or nominated sectaries according to criteria such as their place of origin or founding heresiarch. These criteria certainly generated impressions and assumptions which influenced how people perceived the sectaries they read about. In other words, these 'rules' constructed sectarian paradigms which purposefully manipulated people's perceptions of sectaries. An expanded account of these 'rules' suggests how labels were attributed in order to construct a given sectarian type.

William Walwyn, in a moment of cynical insight, equated given sectarian positions with specific sectarian characteristics:

[A]n Independent: so far as to allow every man to be fully perswaded in his owne mind, and to molest no man for worshiping God according to his conscience...A Brownist: so far, as to separate from all those that preach for filthy lucre: An Anabaptist: so far, at least, as to be se baptised in a floud of their owne true repentant teares: A seeker: in seeking occasion, how to doe good unto all men.<sup>96</sup>

'Brownist' was certainly a by-word for separatism whose use was illustrated by Edwards' treatment of Katherine Chidley. Having advocated, in her own words, 'the

<sup>94</sup> Ludwig Wittgenstein, *Philosophical Investigations*, trans. G. E. M. Anscombe, 2nd edn, repr. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1997; first published 1953), §§39-40; G. P. Baker and P. M. S. Hacker, *An Analytical Commentary on Wittgenstein's Philosophical Investigations, Volume One* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1997; first published 1987), pp. 96-7.

<sup>95</sup> Wittgenstein, *Investigations*, §199, §125.

<sup>96</sup> William Walwyn, *A Prediction of M<sup>r</sup>. Edwards his Conversion, and Recantation* (1646), p. 6.



way of *Separation*', Edwards quickly branded her 'an old Brownist'.<sup>97</sup> 'Independent', however, was not so simple, describing men as diverse as Marchamont Nedham, Henry Parker, William Prynne and Richard Baxter. Their shifting affiliations and turbulent political lives defy precise denominational categories.<sup>98</sup> One pamphleteer suggested that Brownists, Anabaptists, Antinomians, Socinians and Libertines all took 'shelter' under the name 'Independent' and thereby turned larger differences of 'Discipline' into more specific ones of 'Doctrine'.<sup>99</sup> Likewise, the Anabaptist, Brownist, Familist and Roman Catholic illustrated on the frontispiece of John Taylor's *Religion's Enemies* were, according to George Thomason who annotated the woodcut on his own copy, 'all Independents'.<sup>100</sup> Sectarian labels implicated a given sect in a multitude of sins. Another pamphleteer called the label 'Anabaptist' a 'simple name' or a 'curtaine', behind which 'many horrible and pernicious Tenets...lye hidden'.<sup>101</sup> This permitted labels to be used with ever-decreasing precision. 'Gnostic', for example, was used to label those considered to be both 'licentious' and 'severe'.<sup>102</sup> It is unsurprising that critics have long described what has been called a 'rhetoric of indignation' which was reductive, associative and uncompromisingly hostile:

*Anabaptist*, a rather vague and terrifying word, describes varieties of dissenters; *Brownist* has similar emotive force; and *Familist* serves as a substitute for 'sexually promiscuous', although sexual promiscuity was no part of the teachings of the group.<sup>103</sup>

Such representational strategies, or Wittgensteinian 'rules', have remained largely unexplored. It has gone unnoticed that labels provided certain characteristics with which sectaries might be associated. This account of sectarian labels anticipates my

<sup>97</sup> Katherine Chidley, *A New-Yeaes Gift or A Brief Exhortation to M<sup>r</sup> Thomas Edwards* (1645), A2r; Edwards, *Gangraena*, II, p. 170.

<sup>98</sup> Joseph Frank, *Cromwell's Press Agent: A Critical Biography of Marchamont Nedham, 1620-1678* (Lanham: University Press of America, 1980), passim; Michael Mendle, *Henry Parker and the English Civil War: The Political Thought of the Public's 'Privado'* (Cambridge: CUP, 1995), passim; Lamont, *Puritanism... Volume I*, passim; *ibid.*, *Puritanism and the English Revolution: Volume III, Richard Baxter and the Millennium*, repr. (Aldershot: Gregg Revivals, 1991; first published 1979), passim.

<sup>99</sup> D. P. P., *An Antidote Against the Contagious Air of Independency* (1644), p. 12.

<sup>100</sup> Taylor, *Enemies*, A1r.

<sup>101</sup> Spanheim, p. 50.

<sup>102</sup> Anon, *The Ranters Religion* (1650), A2v; CPWJM, II, p. 579.

<sup>103</sup> William P. Holden, *Anti-Puritan Satire 1572-1642* (New Haven: Yale University, 1954), p. 42.

discussion of nomenclature in the following chapter, in which the relationship between the fictive and the factual is explained from the perspective of intellectual contexts, and my examination of heresiological semantics in Chapter Five; here, it remains to describe the potency of the labels themselves and the real impact of heresy-lists as they catalogued and classified religious radicalism.

### Towards a Taxonomy of Heresy

Religious taxonomy has been little studied. Thomas H. Clancy's article, 'Papist-Protestant-Puritan: English Religious Taxonomy 1565-1665', remains a lone effort in the field. His contention is that 'Papist', 'Protestant' and 'Puritan' 'were often used together to express the whole gamut of English religious feeling', but he fails to study the effects of classifying a broad spectrum of sectarian opinion.<sup>104</sup> John Morrill is far more insightful when he suggests that classifying religious radicalism constructed 'a denominational grid' which creates 'formalistic declensions and paradigms' of heresy.<sup>105</sup> The following discussion will consider the functions and effects of these 'declensions' and 'paradigms' in heresy-lists and heresiological taxonomies.

The classification of sects was an attempt to impose order upon what Pagitt and Daniel Featley called a heretical 'hodg-podg'.<sup>106</sup> One famous example of this heretical medley is Abraham Cowley's description of the New Model Army as a chaotic conglomeration of sects.<sup>107</sup> Heresiologists sought to restore order to this heretical milieu. Kristen Poole describes the swarms of sectaries upon which Thomas Edwards, in *Gangraena*, 'self-consciously attempts to impose a taxonomic system...as a means of re-establishing ecclesiastical and social harmony'.<sup>108</sup> She rightly admits that 'mixtures and hodge-podges...deflect an easy taxonomy' and that 'often the force of the list is not its logical declination but its overwhelming abundance' (one need only examine *Heresiography*'s heresies to appreciate this).<sup>109</sup> She insists, however, that Edwards 'imposes a system of classification which separates out various sects, which

<sup>104</sup> Clancy, p. 227.

<sup>105</sup> John Morrill, *Oliver Cromwell and the English Revolution* (London: Longman, 1990), pp. 207-8.

<sup>106</sup> Pagitt, *Wolfe*, p. 7; Featley, *Dippers Dipt*, 1st edn, B2v.

<sup>107</sup> Abraham Cowley, *The Civil War*, ed. Allan Pritchard (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1973; first published 1679), iii, ll. 59-198.

<sup>108</sup> Poole, *Radical Religion*, pp. 104-23, p. 107, esp. pp. 114-5.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 116, p. 118.

isolates and enumerates their differences'.<sup>110</sup> Edwards admitted himself that 'though I set down and joyn together all the following opinions in one Catalogue, because they all agree in...forsaking the communion of the Reformed Churches: yet I am far from thinking them all unlike'.<sup>111</sup> Poole suggests that Edwards constructed 'an organizing matrix' with which to restore order to the swarm.<sup>112</sup> It is my intention here to examine the operation and effects of such organising matrices and the 'declensions' and 'paradigms' of heresy which they produced. I will suggest that heresiological classification is ultimately taxonomic.

Heresy-lists manufactured a denominational spectrum which exaggerated the slipperiness of sectarian convictions because one sect could so easily slide into another. Laurence Clarkson's evolution from a typical church-goer into, successively, a Puritan, a Presbyterian, an Independent, an Antinomian, a Baptist, a Seeker, a Ranter, and finally a Muggletonian was no doubt only so discernible because of the categories into which heresy was defined, compartmentalised and understood. Clarkson himself was familiar with these sectarian tags, save for Muggletonianism, and they punctuated the narrative of his own spiritual career.<sup>113</sup> In 1641, Sir William Parkin told Parliament that the multitude of sects amounted to 'a Labyrinth of Religion'.<sup>114</sup> The following year, an Exeter minister remarked that the 'divisions' in the church were 'endlesse, and innumerable'.<sup>115</sup> In heresy-lists, the sectarian menace became a *named* threat: one recent historian rightly observes that 'a complete roster of mid-seventeenth-century sectarian groups would list hundreds of names'.<sup>116</sup>

Sectarian 'declensions' and 'paradigms' not only allowed the careers of radicals to be followed and formalised, but popularised the radicalism they represented. Attacking religious error was known to risk spreading error itself. In 1606, popular pamphlets against witches provided the material for a girl in Berkshire to feign bewitchment.<sup>117</sup> The majority of shorter, often salacious heresy-lists appealed to an 'audience eager to consume prurient "information" about radical sects'.<sup>118</sup> More lengthy and theological efforts, like the heresiologies of Irenaeus, Epiphanius and

<sup>110</sup> Ibid., p. 121.

<sup>111</sup> Edwards, *Gangraena*, I, C4<sup>v</sup>-D1<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>112</sup> Poole, *Radical Religion*, p. 121.

<sup>113</sup> Clarkson, *Lost Sheep*, p. 4, p. 5, p. 7, p. 8, p. 10, p. 11, p. 19, p. 44.

<sup>114</sup> Sir William Parkin, *Sir William Parkins Speech to the House of Commons* (1641), p. 5.

<sup>115</sup> William Sclater, *The Remedy of Schisme* (1642), p. 2.

<sup>116</sup> Friedman, *Miracles*, p. 84.

<sup>117</sup> Gaskill, *Crime*, p. 40.

<sup>118</sup> Poole, *Radical Religion*, p. 155.

Augustine, were probably purchased by committed members of the godly, the scholarly and the more affluent.<sup>119</sup> But both kinds of heresiology risked spreading religious error. One Quaker at least was converted to his beliefs by reading Henry More writing against Familists and Quakers in *An Explanation of the Grand Mystery of Godliness* (1660).<sup>120</sup> A pamphlet against the Family of Love alleged that the daughter of a gentleman in Pirford, Surrey, was so enamoured with 'the new Sects of Religion' because they 'were so much talked of' that she spent a week with a group of Familists in a neighbouring village.<sup>121</sup> Christopher Marsh discovers in the mid-seventeenth century 'a fascinating process by which the hostile, slanderous image of a religious minority...was eventually absorbed and re-expressed by other, unrelated groups, becoming the basis for a genuine collective identity'.<sup>122</sup> David Cressy suggests that Quakers who started going naked in the early 1650s were influenced by the first pamphlets about the Ranters and accounts of Adamite nudity.<sup>123</sup> Several other historians suggest that Pagitt's own account of Quakers influenced Lodowick Muggleton, after whom those eclectic dissenters, the Muggletonians, gained their name.<sup>124</sup>

Pagitt was well aware of such dangers: 'The horrible Blasphemies and devillish opinions of these Heretickes I am loath to name, but that my desire is that Christians should take notice of them to beware of them'.<sup>125</sup> William Lee was even more concerned:

[It] is not the way to decrease Errors by a violent furious repetition of them. A discovery of fewer Errors solidly confuted, will, if done in the spirit of Love, prove a better imployment, then to discover hundreds and spend nothing but wrath and fleshly carnall censures upon them; certainly it would

<sup>119</sup> F. J. Fehrenbach, gen. ed., *Private Libraries in Renaissance England: A Collection and Catalogue of Tudor and Early Stuart Book-Lists*, 5 vols (Marlborough: Adam Matthew Publications, 1992-), I, p. 15, p. 36; III, p. 16, p. 39, p. 47, p. 70, p. 150, p. 152, p. 225; IV, p. 89, p. 107, p. 227, p. 230, p. 280; V, p. 73, p. 114, p. 289, p. 296.

<sup>120</sup> Anne Conway, *The Conway Letters*, ed. Marjorie Hope Nicolson, rev. ed. Sarah Hutton (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), p. 341.

<sup>121</sup> Anon, *A Description of the Sect Called the Familie of Love: With their Common Place of Residence* (1641), pp. 1-4.

<sup>122</sup> Marsh, *Family of Love*, pp. 238-9.

<sup>123</sup> Cressy, *Travesties*, p. 277.

<sup>124</sup> Christopher Hill, William Lamont and Barry Reay, *The World of the Muggletonians* (London: Temple Smith, 1983), p. 22.

<sup>125</sup> Pagitt, *Heresiography*, 1st edn, p. 118.

be far more acceptable to God and Jesus Christ to turn one that is going on in an Errour, then to discover one hundred for him to fall into.<sup>126</sup>

Many were sensitive to the idea that reading about heresy was only one step away from becoming a heretic, to which the sixteenth-century Italian example of the Manichean miller, Domenico Scandella, testifies.<sup>127</sup> But heresy-lists provided far clearer and more dangerous expositions of heresy than the kinds of texts from which Scandella gleaned his heterodox scraps. With what Kristen Poole calls 'an organizing matrix', a heresy-list presented its heresies clearly and comprehensively in an often tabulated and classified form. Indeed, the clarity and comprehensiveness of seventeenth-century heresiology undoubtedly permitted it to transmit as well as to confute the heresies it described. David Masson suggests that there was indeed 'some classification' of the sects in mid-seventeenth-century heresy-lists and, perhaps naively, argues that this formed 'a more or less complete survey of the huge medley or tumult of opinions'.<sup>128</sup> A discussion of these classifications and organising matrices here introduces the notion of taxonomy which, in *Heresiography*, assumed the important role which cataloguing played in *Christianographie*.

*Heresiography*'s 'organizing matrix', like *Christianographie*'s cartography, attempted to hold within it the world which it described. Pagitt sought 'to describe the Hereticks and Schismatics of this time' and to 'set downe their beginning among us; their hereticall opinions, and errors, confuting them; and also relate how other Princes and Common wealths have suppressed them, and how severely some of them have beene punished among us'.<sup>129</sup> These headings created a formal structure through which *Heresiography* attempted to view its sectaries. Little known heresies, and those which were added in later editions, were described more informally, but William Lee placed upon the title page of *Heresiography*'s fourth edition a list of descriptive headings which stated even more boldly *Heresiography*'s organising structure or 'matrix':

<sup>126</sup> Ibid., *Brief Collection*, p. 20. This passage appears verbatim in Wellwisher of Truth and Peace, *A Relation of Severall Heresies* (1646), p. 20, suggesting that either Lee was the anonymous Wellwisher or, more likely, that he used more than just *Heresiography* to compile his *Brief Collection*.

<sup>127</sup> Carlo Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller*, trans. John and Anne Tedeschi (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1980; first published in Italian, 1976), p. 78, p. 92, *passim*.

<sup>128</sup> Masson, III, p. 137.

<sup>129</sup> Pagitt, *Heresiography*, 1st edn, A4<sup>v</sup>-2A1<sup>r</sup>.



- 1 Their Originall and first proceedings.
- 2 Their Errours and Blaphemies [sic].
- 3 Their severall sorts.
- 4 Their Audacious boldnesse in these dayes.
- 5 The confutation of their Errours.
- 6 How they have beene punished, and suppressed amongst us heretotore.<sup>130</sup> [sic]

This kind of 'matrix' was shared with other texts. A sermon by Zephaniah Smyth, a Suffolkshire minister, divided one's understanding of heretics into 'their number', 'their place', 'their subtilty [sic]', 'their condition...ordained to condemnation' and 'their practises' which were invariably 'ungodly'.<sup>131</sup> Daniel Featley's *The Dippers Dipt* declared on its frontispiece that it examined Anabaptists according to their 'Originall', their 'Severall sorts', their 'Peculiar Errours', their 'High Attempts against the State' and their 'Capital Punishments'.<sup>132</sup> So widespread was this manner of representation that the heretics themselves parodied it. John Ellyson's *Hereticks, Sectaries, and Schismaticks, Discovered to be the Antichrist Yet Remaining* (1647), which was actually a plea for toleration, promised to examine religious groups' 'Foundation', 'Members', 'Ministry', 'Doctrine', 'Institutions and Ordinances' and 'their placing and exercise of power'.<sup>133</sup> By turning a heresiological ploy on its head, this ranked with even Abiezer Coppe's parody of Thomas Edwards' Latin tags.<sup>134</sup>

One of the most interesting categories of analysis under which sects were examined was their 'severall sorts'. This turned cataloguing heresy into its taxonomic organisation. Taxonomy is the observation, description and classification of objects according to taxonomic groups or *taxa*. It has 'a special, particularly aesthetic...place among the sciences' since it does not yield information but arranges it.<sup>135</sup> Beyond investigating the criteria according to which taxonomy arranges objects, it is therefore

<sup>130</sup> Ibid., 4th edn, A1'.

<sup>131</sup> Zephaniah Smyth, *The Doome of Heretiques: or, A Discovery of Subtle Foxes, Who Were Tied Tayle to Tayle, and Crept into the Church to Doe Mischiefe* (1648), p. 3.

<sup>132</sup> Featley, *Dippers Dipt*, 1st edn, A2'.

<sup>133</sup> John Ellyson, *Hereticks, Sectaries, and Schismaticks, Discerned to be the Antichrist Yet Remaining, and the Great Enemies of Peace of this Kingdom* (1647), A1r.

<sup>134</sup> Nicholas McDowell, 'A Ranter Reconsidered: Abiezer Coppe and Civil War Stereotypes', *The Seventeenth Century*, 12 (1997), 173-205, p. 189.

<sup>135</sup> George Gaylord Simpson, *Principles of Animal Taxonomy* (London: OUP, 1961), p. 5; cf. H. E. Goto, *Animal Taxonomy* (London: Edward Arnold, 1982), pp. 11-58.

wrong to ask what *kinds* of taxonomy exist because, on the contrary, *kinds* are a product of taxonomy and the *taxa* which it arranges. These *taxa* are 'manufactured' to correspond to the objects and the world which they describe.<sup>136</sup> This permits the inventive and provocative naming which heresiology employs and provides a discursive context in which those names may be examined as if real, concrete *things*. Taxonomy, together with the vocabulary it constructed, nomenclature, was fundamental to the fabrication of radicalism.

In much heresiology, religious denominations were *taxa* in the form of *species* within a governing *genus*. One pamphleteer, for example, suggested a perceived equivalence between religious sects and taxonomic *species* when he claimed that it was easier to 'reckon up all the *species* and kinds of Nature, then describe all the Sects, Divisions and Opinions in Religion that are at this time amongst us'.<sup>137</sup> Treating sects as *species*, often within a *genus*, permitted heresiology to name copiously but in an ordered, hierarchical fashion. Though sect-names threatened to engulf the godly reader, they were in fact kept in check by the imposition of a taxonomy which not only prevented them becoming a terrifying 'hodge-podge', but multiplied exponentially sectarian types by creating what one pamphleteer called 'divisions upon divisions, with subdivisions...increasing daily'.<sup>138</sup> Though 'heresy' and 'sect' were frequently synonymous, Pagitt used them to express *taxa*: 'Alas what Heresie have we not? and most of these are subdivided into many Sects'.<sup>139</sup> A primary 'division' or 'heresy' functioned as a *genus*; a 'subdivision' or 'sect' as a *species*. Thomas Browne called subdivisions of heresy 'super-heresies' rather than 'sects'.<sup>140</sup> Friedrich Spanheim's account of Anabaptists broke them down into forty-four such 'super-heresies' which, within the *genus* Anabaptist, included up to three successive subdivisions. There was a Dutch *species* of Anabaptist, for example, which included a Frisian variety which itself was divided into Elder and Latter kinds.<sup>141</sup> Figure 3

<sup>136</sup> John R. Gregg, *The Language of Taxonomy: An Application of Symbolic Logic to the Study of Classificatory Systems* (New York: Columbia University, 1954), p. 34; D. L. J. Quicke, *Principles and Techniques of Contemporary Taxonomy* (London: Blackie Academic & Professional, 1993), p. 44.

<sup>137</sup> John Taylor, *The Anatomy of the Separatists, Alias, Brownists, the Factions Brethren in these Times* (1642), p. 1, my emphasis; cf. Anon, *The Dolefull Lamentation of Cheapside Crosse: or Old England Sick of the Staggers* (1641), p. 3. Genus and species have been used taxonomically since the early seventeenth century, and probably the sixteenth, see *OED Online*. <<http://dictionary.oed.com/cgi/entry/00232641> and 00093828>

<sup>138</sup> Josiah Ricraft, *A Looking-Glasse for the Anabaptists and the Rest of the Separatists* (1645), A2<sup>v</sup>; cf. Anon, *Testimony*, p. 30.

<sup>139</sup> Pagitt, *Wolfe*, p. 8.

<sup>140</sup> Browne, p. 69.

<sup>141</sup> Spanheim, p. 24.

(overleaf) illustrates Pagitt's taxonomic arrangement of sectarian labels. Many exotic 'sects' or 'subdivisions' flowed out of more established 'heresies'. These more established heresies lent credence and colouring to comparatively outrageous and unlikely sects. This taxonomic testimony was a fundamental means of fabricating what Milton called 'many *subdichotomies* of petty schisms'.<sup>142</sup>

A definition of taxonomy allows this process to be explored more fully:

Taxonomy as a science or order proceeds in two ways. First of all, it analyzes wholes into units: constituents, parts, elements, variables, etc. The aim or outcome, depending on the success of the analysis, is the establishment of relations of identity and difference between things. Secondly, taxonomy brings together in groups and arranges the groups in a hierarchical system. Wholes are decomposed in order that they can be recomposed or reconstituted in a system which expresses the totality of their relations. The totality is expressed in the taxonomic table - in a system that conjoins (and disjoins) things.<sup>143</sup>

Two crucial processes occur: phenomena are individuated and simultaneously grouped together hierarchically, in space, on a page. In the opening chapter, I suggested that bridewells constructed carceral taxonomies and that the New Prison itself created a kind of taxonomy of heresy. If, in that chapter, Foucault provided valuable insights, he does here too. The seventeenth century, according to Foucault, witnessed the emergence of what he calls 'a taxonomic episteme'.<sup>144</sup> Language was 'the spontaneous tabula, the primary grid of things...an indispensable link between representation and things', by which Foucault means that language was a means of arranging words so that they corresponded to the world which they described more precisely.<sup>145</sup> Thus taxonomy was a more sophisticated representative strategy than the lists and catalogues which saturated both *Christianographie* and *Heresiography*. Heresiological taxonomies claimed to represent truthfully, and at least authoritatively, the sectarianised world they described. Though the intellectual (continued, p. 114)

<sup>142</sup> *CPWJM*, II, p. 594.

<sup>143</sup> M. M. Slaughter, *Universal Languages and Scientific Taxonomy in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge: CUP, 1984), p. 9.

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid.*, vii.

<sup>145</sup> Foucault, *Order*, xxiii.

Figure 3. *Heresiography's* Taxonomic Structure

YEAR (and edn)	'HERESIES'	'SECTS'
1645 (1st edn)	Anabaptists	Moravian Anabaptists, Chiliasts, Coetanii; Muncerians, Apostolics, Separatists, Catharists, Silentes, Enthusiasts, Liberi, Adamites, Hutites, Augustinians, Beukeldians, Melchiorists, Georgians, Menonists, Pueris Similes, Servetians, Libertines, Denkiens, Semper Orantes, Deo Relicti, Monasterienses
	Brownists	Separatists (Brownists, Barrowists, Wilkinsonians, Johnsonians, Ainsworthians, Robinsonians, Lemarists), Innovators, Novatores, Bitter Rainers, Semi-Separatists (Jacobites), Donatists, ignorant Idiots, noddys, Nabalites, dogged Doegs, fainfaced Pharisees, shameless Shimeites, malicious Machiavellians
	Independents	
	Familists	Castalians, Grindletonians, Familists of the Mountains, Familists of the Valleys, Familists of the Scattered Flock, Familists of Caps, Order
	Adamites	Bohemian Adamites
	Antinomians	
	Arminians	
	Socinians	Ebionites, Arians, Photinians, Servetians, Antitrinitarians, Samosatarians, Sabellians
	Antitrinitarians	
	Millenarians	Apocalyptic Men
	Hetheringtonians	
	Antisabbatarians	Ebionites (in 6th edn)
	Traskites	Sabbatarians
	Jesuits	
1645 (2nd edn)	Pelagians	
	Soule-sleepers	
	Deny the Scriptures	Known as Antiscripturians after the 3rd edition
	Seekers or Expecters	
	Divorcers	
	Papists	
1654 (5th edn)	Shakers or Quakers	Saints
	Ranters	
1661 (6th edn)	Fifth Monarchists	New Lights

**Note:**

- Spelling has been normalised for the sake of consistency. Single 'sects' are names used interchangeably with the primary 'heresy'. Sects within brackets are either synonymous with (if single) or categorised under the heading of (if multiple) the preceding sect.

context of these claims will be discussed in the following chapter, it is necessary here to illustrate a selection of heresiological taxonomies and the *taxa* they contained.

Just as plants and animals were scrutinised amidst the relations in which they existed in the natural world, Brownists, Familists of the Valleys and dogged Doegs were examined in a revoltingly sectarianised one. They were placed in relation to one another, and within taxonomic groups; they were broken down into their component sectarian characteristics so that their relations to one another could be compared. The more readily such sects related to one another, the more rapidly they accumulated and argued, by implication, their threat to the English Church. Thomas Edwards described *Gangraena* as something of a taxonomic table:

I here give the Reader a Synopsis of sectarisme, and have drawn as it were into one table, and do present at one view, the errours and strange opinions scattered up and down, and vented in many books, manuscripts, Sermons, conferences, &c. and have disposed them under certain heads, and put them into their proper places, in a methodicall way for memories sake, that the Reader may more easily finde them.<sup>146</sup>

Robert Baillie described *A Dissuasive From the Errours of the Time* as 'one short Table' in which heresy was examined 'not in its pieces, but the whole together from the head to the feet, the beginning, midst and end without any concealment or disguise'.<sup>147</sup> Such an approach provided heresy with an ideological coherence and reality and, together with accounts of a sect's origins and growth, a historical context which lent credibility to its existence in the present. Rather like the more primitive documentary techniques in *Christianographie*, heresiological taxonomy projected a world out of a text whose appearance was one of scholarly neutrality, but whose function was profoundly argumentative. As Patrick Collinson rightly suggests: 'even the taxonomical guidance provided by the contemporary literature is not really taxonomy at all but disguised polemic, part of the stressful social interaction which it is the historians' prime business to study'.<sup>148</sup>

<sup>146</sup> Edwards, *Gangraena*, I, p. 4.

<sup>147</sup> Baillie, *Dissuasive*, \*2<sup>r-v</sup>, p. 5.

<sup>148</sup> Collinson, *Puritan Character*, p. 17.



*Heresiography* is only one example of a denominational taxonomy which had a polemical function. Other taxonomies existed in pamphlets or as parts of much larger texts. Though I will explore taxonomy's role in fabricating radicalism more thoroughly in later chapters, several examples of polemical *taxa* illustrate its frequency and variety. As noted earlier, Giles Widdowes enumerated ten 'species' or 'specificall kinds' of puritan: the Perfectist, Sermonist, Separatist, Anabaptist, Brownist, Familist, Precisian, Sabbatarian, Anti-disciplinarian and Presdestinatist.<sup>149</sup> This was a character-blackening exercise in which puritanism was associated with as many unsavoury denominations as possible. Samuel Doughty described four *taxa* of heretic: a 'Prophane Atheist' who scorned the Bible, a 'blasphemous *Enthusiast*' who reproached the Bible, a 'superstitious *Papist*' who claimed to own the Bible and a 'scrupulous and seduced *Rejecter*' of the Old Testament. Heresy, for Samuel Doughty, was simply various forms of opposition to scriptural authority.<sup>150</sup> John Taylor divided a list of fifteen heresies into three larger *taxa*: those which were 'For Bishops', those which were 'Against Bishops' and those which were 'Betwixt both'.<sup>151</sup> Even this simple taxonomic procedure imposed an interpretative grid onto the heresy-list, revealing its real purpose which was to argue the necessity of resolving disputes over episcopal government.

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Seventeenth-century heresiology made intimate use of catalogues, lists, labels and taxonomies to describe the heresy it attacked. Taxonomy was so useful because it manipulated to polemical advantage the matter it appeared to describe objectively. On one hand, heresiology adopted the practice of scholarly documentation and even early 'scientific' forms of expression; on the other, it manipulated the image of heresy which those strategies created according to the requirements of polemic.

<sup>149</sup> Widdowes, B2r.

<sup>150</sup> [Samuel Doughty], *A Blow at the Root, or, Some Observations Towards a Discovery of the Subtilties and Devices of Satan, Practised Against the Church and Truth of Christ* (1650), p. 43. This was published anonymously, but an annotation to the frontispiece of the Cambridge University Library copy (Peterborough K.6.1) suggests the identity of the author. For some corroboration, see A. G. Matthews, *Calamy Revised: Being a Revision of Edmund Calamy's 'Account' of the Ministers and Others Ejected And Silenced, 1660-2* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1988; first published 1934), p. 168.

<sup>151</sup> John Taylor, *The Divisions of the Church of England Crept in at XV. Several Doores* (1642), A1'.

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<sup>151</sup> John Taylor, *The Divisions of the Church of England Crept in at XV. Several Doores* (1642), A1'.

Pagitt exemplified the techniques of listing, labelling and taxonomic representation which were so prevalent in such writing. Like many others, he yoked early 'scientific' discourse to the exigencies of polemic by multiplying heretical *taxa* and attributing to them a sense of real, imminent threat. *Christianographie* and *Heresiography* were, therefore, not simply works of prolixity and encyclopaedism. Heresiological taxonomy persuaded the reader to extrapolate out of the text an overly-sectarianised world or, in *Christianographie*, a de-Catholicised one; and the world thereby described, the 'presentative world', to use Heylyn's expression, was not an idle literary creation but a distinct polemical strategy. Seventeenth-century heresiology's scholarly, even 'scientific' credentials and contexts support this process. Before exploring the means by which heresiology made many of its heretics in Chapters Five and Six, it is therefore now necessary to consider heresiology's 'scientific' character.

## IV

### Towards a Science of Fabrication

Sectarian taxonomies are one expression of seventeenth-century heresiology's scientific ambitions. They illustrate, for one historian, the 'more purely scientific curiosity' that lay behind many heresy-lists.<sup>1</sup> *Christianographie* and *Heresiography*, as I have suggested, both presented themselves as 'descriptive sciences' by virtue of their titles.<sup>2</sup> Other heresiological writing also presented itself as 'scientific'. Thomas Edwards' attempt to catalogue and classify heresy in *Gangraena* has been called 'an almost scientific attempt at documenting sectarianism'.<sup>3</sup> This chapter explores the 'scientific' character of seventeenth-century heresiology and the ways in which it employed early 'scientific' discourse and practice to fabricate the heresies which it described so 'scientifically'. In doing so, I will refer to heavyweight heresiologies rather more than smaller heresy-lists and pamphlets because many of the latter clearly shared the methods and mentalities of the former, but articulated them less clearly. The extensive accounts of heresy in the writings of Pagitt, Edwards, Featley and Baillie are an effective means of reconstructing heresiological methods and perspectives whose 'scientific' credentials this chapter investigates.

The broad historiographical background against which this discussion takes place concerns Protestantism's alleged sympathy with the 'new science' of the seventeenth century. Robert K. Merton suggests that Protestantism in seventeenth-century England was 'an emotionally consistent system of beliefs, sentiments and action which played no small part in arousing a sustained interest in science'.<sup>4</sup> Repeatedly debated, the precise nature of the relationship between Protestantism and the 'new science' remains what Richard S. Westfall calls 'nebulous and difficult to determine'.<sup>5</sup> One can say with confidence, however, that if Protestantism did not provide momentum for the 'new science', it certainly provided a context.

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<sup>1</sup> Masson, III, p. 137.

<sup>2</sup> OED Online. <<http://dictionary.oed.com/cgi/entry/00097973>>

<sup>3</sup> Poole, *Radical Religion*, p. 119.

<sup>4</sup> Robert K. Merton, *Science, Technology & Society in Seventeenth Century England*, repr. (New York: Howard Fertig, 1993; first published 1938), p. 136.

<sup>5</sup> Westfall, p. 7; cf. the collection of *Past and Present* essays in Charles Webster, ed., *The Intellectual Revolution of the Seventeenth Century* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1974), pp. 197-346. For specific discussions of the Merton thesis, see A. Rupert Hall, 'Merton Revisited or Science and Society in the Seventeenth Century', *History of Science*, 2 (1963), 1-16; Steven Shapin, 'Understanding the Merton Thesis',

The traditional view of Protestantism's sympathy with the 'new science' is that Baconian empiricism encouraged direct observations and first-hand experiments, Ramist logic whittled away the complicating categories of Aristotelianism and regard for the Bible encouraged the discussion of its contents as natural philosophy rather than as religious mystery.<sup>6</sup> Tracing such influences in seventeenth-century heresiology would be a fruitlessly vague endeavour, but the 'new science' itself consisted of methodological and sociological practices shared with much heresiological writing. Barbara Shapiro sketches the methodological profile of the 'new science' in a way which recalls that of heresiology: firstly, it claimed empirical authority, relying upon observation, experience and evidence; secondly, it demonstrated a moral certainty and rectitude; thirdly, and although many believed that 'authorities' did not constitute 'evidence', it did not distinguish between natural and historical knowledge and considered that a 'history' might be a true account of the 'facts'; fourthly, the purpose of accumulating such facts was to determine an 'ultimate truth'.<sup>7</sup> The determination of 'truth' through 'scientific' institutions and practices is examined by Steven Shapin whose work on early science adopts a more sociological perspective. He suggests that the Royal Society was less concerned with the determination of facts than the credibility of the testimony and the integrity of the testator. The Royal Society, he suggests, exercised numerous 'truth-making and truth-warranting practices' which concerned the cultivation of civility, gentility and, in doing so, credibility. Scientific method was used only in so far as it encouraged and enabled shared, corporate work and consensual, credible science.<sup>8</sup> Though religious polemic was often fractious and divisive, these methodological and sociological characteristics were shared with seventeenth-century heresiology, particularly when texts were written from specific Presbyterian or 'Old Protestant' perspectives and authors acknowledged, cited and corroborated each other. The most striking similarity between early 'science' and heresiology, however, lies in their mutual hostility towards religious sectarianism.

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*Isis*, 79 (1982), 594-605; I. Bernard Cohen, ed., *Puritanism and the Rise of Modern Science: The Merton Thesis* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University, 1990), passim.

<sup>6</sup> John Dillenberger, *Protestant Thought and Natural Science: A Historical Interpretation* (London: Collins, 1961), p. 108.

<sup>7</sup> Barbara J. Shapiro, *Probability and Certainty in Seventeenth-Century England: A Study of the Relationship Between Natural Science, Religion, History, Law, and Literature* (Princeton: Princeton University, 1983), pp. 15-27, pp. 119-20.

<sup>8</sup> Steven Shapin, *A Social History of Truth: Civility and Science in Seventeenth-Century England* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1994), p. 122, passim; *ibid.*, *The Scientific Revolution* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1996), passim.



For Bacon, knowledge belonged to the community or to specialised 'scientific' institutions rather than individuals or 'voluntaries' who were determined to seek truth for themselves. In the same way, the Royal Society attacked 'enthusiasts' and 'fanatics' whose unregulated beliefs were considered to be detrimental to national order.<sup>9</sup> Indeed, though the Royal Society did not discuss religious issues, it certainly had a religious agenda.<sup>10</sup> The religious strife of the 1640s prompted men to investigate the intellectual foundations of religion and to believe that a rational theology was the best means of defending the principles of Christianity.<sup>11</sup> Many members of the Royal Society were such 'latitudinarians'.

They were not predominantly puritans who sought scientific as well as religious innovation; they were not exclusively scientists but they wanted to be associated with science; they did not practice science, narrowly defined, but archaeology, antiquarianism, history and genealogy; some members were Catholic.<sup>12</sup> The 'typical fellow' of the Royal Society was in fact 'a royalist, Anglican, university-educated gentleman'.<sup>13</sup> In this way, those who sought 'scientific' advances were from conservative stock. Scientific innovation must be seen in the context of culturally-committed conservatism, galvanised by the late experiences of the Civil War and regicide. Thomas Sprat's *History of the Royal Society* lamented 'the late extravagant excesses of *Enthusiasm*' and 'the violence of spiritual madness'.<sup>14</sup> Sprat believed that the 'new science' fortified the English Church against 'all the several sorts of *Enthusiasts*', amongst whom he considered '*Experimenter[s]*', '*Hypocrites*', '*Holy Cheats*' and 'fantastical *Humorist[s]*'.<sup>15</sup> Like much heresiology, the Royal Society claimed to administer '*Medicines for Religious distempers*'.<sup>16</sup> One historian calls its members 'the greatest opponents' of 'enthusiasm'.<sup>17</sup> Robert Boyle was certainly

<sup>9</sup> Shapin, *Revolution*, pp. 129-30; G. E. Aylmer, 'Unbelief in Seventeenth-Century England', in Pennington and Thomas, eds, pp. 22-46, p. 37; Christopher Hill, *Some Intellectual Consequences of the English Civil War* (London: George Weidenfield and Nicolson, 1980), p. 60.

<sup>10</sup> Barbara J. Shapiro, 'Latitudinarianism and Science in Seventeenth-Century Science', in Webster, ed., pp. 286-316, pp. 314-5.

<sup>11</sup> Westfall, p. 115, p. 184.

<sup>12</sup> Lotte Mulligan, 'Civil War Politics, Religion and the Royal Society', in Webster, ed., pp. 317-339, p. 322, p. 329, p. 335.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 336.

<sup>14</sup> Thomas Sprat, *History of the Royal Society*, eds Jackson I. Cope and Harold Whitmore Jones, repr. (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966; first published 1667), pp. 375-6.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 372, p. 361, p. 364.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 376.

<sup>17</sup> H. F. Kearney, 'Puritanism, Capitalism and the Scientific Revolution', in Webster, ed., pp. 218-42, p. 234.

dedicated to refuting sectaries' claims from the 1650s onwards.<sup>18</sup> The likes of John Wilkins formulated a rational or natural theology which repudiated sectarian enthusiasts who emphasised the role of free grace and private revelation.<sup>19</sup> Despite these similarities between the Royal Society and heresiology, I do not intend to trace the transition of a heresiological mentality into the Royal Society of the 1660s; rather, I intend to examine the 'scientific' credentials of heresiology in the 1640s and 50s so that its use of early scientific taxonomy for polemical purposes can be better understood.

This chapter therefore seeks to explore the 'scientific' dimensions of seventeenth-century heresiology by investigating three critical areas. The first of these concerns the authorial mentality which embraced a distinctly heresiological tradition of writing. This not only considered 'history' and 'heresiology' to constitute an empirically-verifiable body of 'evidence' or 'fact', but was concerned with confronting religious turmoil credibly and authoritatively. I suggest that a scholarly, often isolated authorial perspective fed into a heresiological *discipline* which constituted heresiology's 'scientific' outlook. Having dealt with Shapin's insights into truth-telling strategies in this first section, the second area of enquiry examines how this 'scientific' outlook manufactured 'scientifically' endorsed 'truths' through the use of taxonomy in heresiology's wider intellectual context: heresiological taxonomy and its verbal contents, sectarian labels, are investigated in relation to Linnaean binomial nomenclature and universal language theory. The final section of this chapter introduces heresiological nomenclature as a truth-telling strategy which, I will suggest, draws upon these scientifically- and taxonomically-centred practices to in fact fabricate radicalism.

### **Heresiological Models: 'God make you as *Augustine*, *Malleum Hæreticorum*'<sup>20</sup>**

I wish here to examine several heresiologists in relation to their immediate social and political environments, as well as their deference to a heresiological discipline. Becoming, as it were, *Augustine*, *malleum hæreticorum*, was the ambition

<sup>18</sup> Jacob, 'Ideological Origins', passim; *ibid.*, 'Robert Boyle and Subversive Religion in the Early Restoration', *Albion*, 6 (1974), 275-93; *ibid.*, 'Boyle's Circle in the Protectorate: Revelation, Politics and the Millennium', *JHI*, 38 (1977), 131-40.

<sup>19</sup> Shapiro, *Probability*, pp. 82-8.

<sup>20</sup> Edwards, *Gangraena*, II, p. 20.

of heresiologists who sought to create a heresiological persona within a distinct heresiological discipline which lent them both credibility and community: the former prompted people to believe their claims; the latter protected them from the isolation they experienced in a world whose religion roared in flux around them. In the midst of society's gradual secularisation and the fragmenting notion of a national church, many heresiologists adopted an estranged outlook upon the world and assumed the methods and personae of their heresiological forebears with whom they identified instead. For this reason, mid-seventeenth-century heresiologists not only imitated their patristic and continental forebears, but identified themselves with them. This tradition of writing, to which heresiologists so tightly adhered, constituted a formalised genre, even a heresiological discipline. The nature and operation of this discipline, I will suggest, was 'scientific'.

The events which prompted and precipitated the heresy-lists of the mid-seventeenth century were part of the political and religious turbulence of the time. Heresiology was concerned with how to adopt a credible voice amongst the cacophony of religious dissent. Like early 'scientists', those who described heresy (as a means of decrying it) did so by cultivating an air of studied integrity and authoritative credibility. The Westminster Assembly did so by collecting information on contemporary heresies and evidence against numerous sectaries. Members of the Assembly compiled catalogues of sins, heard on several occasions the heresies of one Paul Best, a group of Anabaptists and even convened a committee to investigate 'the blasphemies and heresies, and other dangerous opinions printed and published and spread abroad'.<sup>21</sup> The Assembly sought Robert Baillie's 'advyce...for the suppressing of Anabaptists, Antinomians, and other sectaries' as if Baillie was an erudite expert as well as a Presbyterian inquisitor.<sup>22</sup> The Westminster Assembly presented itself as a group of scholars, earnestly working together to reach acceptable solutions to thorny religious problems. They have been described as 'liberal and cautious', 'humble and pious' and characterised by 'sharpness, quickness and subtlety of wit'.<sup>23</sup> Richard Vines, one prominent member, remarked that 'invective and railing' was 'not the way to quench wildfire'.<sup>24</sup> This gentility and sense of corporate scholarship recalls Shapin's

<sup>21</sup> Alex F. Mitchell and John Struthers, *Minutes of the Sessions of the Westminster Assembly of Divines* (London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1874), pp. 100-1, p. 104, p. 160, p. 162, p. 173, p. 218, p. 235.

<sup>22</sup> Baillie, *Letters*, II, p. 224.

<sup>23</sup> Mitchell and Struthers, xxxiii-iv, xli.

<sup>24</sup> Richard Vines, *The Impostures of Seducing Teachers Discovered* (1644), p. 37.

thesis that scientific credibility relied as much upon self-image as intellect. Shapin remarks that the English 'scientist' was 'a godly man' and recognised as 'a truth-teller' because he enjoyed the 'circumstances and characteristics' of a trustee: he enjoyed respectable patronage, exhibited all the signs of cultivated gentility (integrity, independence, devotion, discipline and diligence) and pursued selfless goals methodically and systematically.<sup>25</sup>

If we examine Pagitt's self-fashioning in the light of Chapter Two, one finds just such 'a godly man'. *Christianographie* was dedicated to the Bishop of Ely but, more interestingly, *The Mysticall Wolfe's* and *Heresiography's* dedicatees were the great and the good of London's municipal administration: the Lord Mayor, the Lieutenant of the Tower, the City Recorders, the aldermen and sheriffs.<sup>26</sup> As a venerable authority in *The Mysticall Wolfe* and *Heresiography*, Pagitt signed his name 'Old Ephraim Pagitt' and, in the sixth edition of *Heresiography*, William Lee's brief biography of 'the Reverend Author Mr. Ephraim Pagit' acted as testimony to Pagitt's cultivated gentility.<sup>27</sup> Well-bred and a remarkable scholar, Pagitt was 'firm to his Principles' and 'both President and Precept' of the Protestantism he espoused with 'Constancie and Obedience'.<sup>28</sup> He sought to 'to discover, root up, and hinder the growth' of heresy 'for the publick Good'.<sup>29</sup> Though his precise means of discovering and rooting out heresy in a 'scientific' manner will be discussed presently (and illustrated in the following two chapters), Lee's description of Pagitt recalls Thomas Edwards' declaration in *Gangraena* that he was himself 'a faithfull gatherer together and storer up, Remembrancer and Treasurer of these errorrs and practices for the good of the publike'.<sup>30</sup> Edwards was certainly a 'Remembrancer and Treasurer' of religious errors. His *Gangraena* verged upon epistolary heresiology: much of the hefty text was composed of letters which informed, confirmed and corroborated Edward's position by providing multiple testimonies and first-hand observations of incidents that were otherwise related only vicariously. Such scholarly ambitions reveal a heresiological commitment to describe empirically what was argued polemically, and to serve the public realm. Neither Pagitt, an 'Old Protestant', nor Edwards served in

<sup>25</sup> Shapin, *Revolution*, p. 153; *ibid.*, *Truth*, pp. 38-9, pp. 122-3.

<sup>26</sup> Pagitt, *Christianographie*, 1st edn, I, A3<sup>r</sup>; *ibid.*, *Wolfe*, B1<sup>r</sup>; *ibid.*, *Heresiography*, 1st edn, A1<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, *Wolfe*, D2<sup>v</sup>; *ibid.*, *Heresiography*, 1st edn, D2<sup>v</sup>; *ibid.*, 6th edn, (a)1<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, *Wolfe*, (a)2<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, (a)2<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>30</sup> Edwards, *Gangraena*, I, p. 4.

the Westminster Assembly and it is interesting to note that their exclusion from that body of men prompted the inclusion of statements professing their own commitment to the public good and, therefore, to tell the 'truth'.

This commitment to appearing credible and authoritative extended to claims of systematic method and scholarly practice. Such declarations foregrounded the 'scientific' credentials of many heresy-lists. *Christianographie* and *Heresiography* shared the proto-scientific suffix *-graphy*. No longer 'refutations' and 'confutations', heresy-lists identified themselves in primary titles or subtitles as *Descriptions* (Pagitt), *Catalogues* (Edwards), *Observations* (Doughty), *Surveys* (Rutherford) and *Views* (Ross). Shorter and often more hysterical pamphlets sometimes characterised themselves as *Discoveries* or *Testimonies*. Heresiological method also presented itself as 'scientific'. Baillie claimed that he sought to resolve the 'present controversies...by calme, meek, and peaceable meanes'.<sup>31</sup> Featley stated that he would describe Anabaptists 'without any flourish of Rhetorick at all [and] fall upon them with Logically and Theologically weapons'.<sup>32</sup> Many preachers claimed simply to 'describe' the sectarian threat. Richard Vines devoted one half of a sermon to 'the character, or *description* of the impostours and seducers, that doe unsettle men' and James Cranford's *Hæreseo-machia* was divided quite distinctly into descriptive and corrective sections.<sup>33</sup> This descriptive, systematised kind of heresiology signalled its transformation into a credible discipline. Before examining the precise nature of that discipline and its effects upon the heresiologists themselves, however, it is necessary to account for why many heresy-hunters embraced so enthusiastically and defined so self-consciously heresiology as a distinct mode of writing.

Despite the credibility which heresiologists sought to cultivate through assumed gentility and committed scholarship, there were numerous differences between gentlemen and scholars. Seventeenth-century accounts of the scholar often depicted him, in the words of Shapin, as 'impoverished, otherworldly, melancholic, disputatious, pedantic, lacking in civility and sense of decorum'.<sup>34</sup> It was certainly a gross understatement, for example, for Pagitt to conclude his dedication to his furiously railing sermon, *The Mystical Wolfe*, with 'by reason of my age, I cannot

<sup>31</sup> Baillie, *Dissuasive*, \*2v.

<sup>32</sup> Featley, *Dippers Dipt*, 1st edn, B3v.

<sup>33</sup> Vines, *Impostures*, p. 23, my emphasis, pp. 23-38; James Cranford, *Hæreseo-machia: or, The Mischiefe Which Heresies Doe and the Means to Prevent It* (1646), passim.

<sup>34</sup> Shapin, *Truth*, p. 171.



*barke loud, much lesse bite*'.<sup>35</sup> The caring minister was also a cantankerous conservative whose writings were full of polemical bite. The world in which godly crusaders, such as Pagitt, found themselves was increasingly ungodly and they fought against its decline and degeneration. Despite the politics and pamphlet pugilism in which many heresiologists were embroiled, 'Old Protestants' and Presbyterians were increasingly estranged as their religious worlds collapsed, first with the regicide and then with the failure of classical Presbyterianism.

Featley, like Pagitt, was an 'Old Protestant'. Like Pagitt, he was a royalist fighting a lost cause. In, 1645, he was even imprisoned for his royalist sympathies, within six months of which he was dead. Some sectaries claimed that 'Doctor *Featlies* Divell [had] transmigrated into old Ephraim Pagitt' such was their similarity of character and conviction.<sup>36</sup> After Featley's death, subsequent editions of *The Dippers Dipt* celebrated the legitimacy and propriety of episcopacy, the *Book of Common Prayer*, the Thirty-Nine Articles and even included, in 1647, a concluding exhortation in the name of the King who may already have been captured by the army at Holmby House.<sup>37</sup> Also included in an edition of 1647 were several speeches, delivered by Featley before the Westminster Assembly, which had not previously been published and a pamphlet entitled *A Warning for England, Especially for London in the Famous History of the Frantick Anabaptists*. This had appeared anonymously in 1642, very probably by Featley.<sup>38</sup> Posthumous editions of *The Dippers Dipt* were an index by which one can judge the extent to which Featley was alienated from the Presbyterians in the Westminster Assembly and the sectaries against which they fought. Like Pagitt, he clung to the past in order to combat the tribulations of the present.

Alexander Ross was another royalist. When he died in 1654, according to the most recent study of his life, '[a]ll that he stood for was lost'.<sup>39</sup> He claimed in 1652 that he was 'more conversant among the *dead* than the *living*',<sup>40</sup> emphasising both his alienation from the present and his affinity with the past. During the late 1640s and

<sup>35</sup> Pagitt, *Wolfe*, A2v.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., *Heresiography*, 2nd edn, p. 155.

<sup>37</sup> Featley, *Dippers Dipt*, 4th edn (1646), p. 81; *ibid.*, 5th edn (1647), p. 258.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., 5th edn, pp. 187-216, pp. 217-34; cf. [Daniel Featley], *A Warning for England, Especially for London in the Famous History of the Frantick Anabaptists* (1642).

<sup>39</sup> Briggs, p. 29.

<sup>40</sup> Alexander Ross, *The History of the World* (1652), (a)3v.

early '50s, he avoided any involvement in contemporary issues.<sup>41</sup> His most popular text, *IIANΣEBEIA: or, A View of All Religions in the World...Together With a Discovery of All Known Heresies*, was a descriptive rather than a contentious work which has been called 'a reference book for religion'.<sup>42</sup> But while Pagitt, Featley and Ross outlived their royalist cause, Presbyterians too saw the imposition of a classis system become increasingly less likely and became, themselves, estranged from the world around them.

The Presbyterian cause stood against the gradual and inexorable secularisation of politics, the result of which was the alienation of its most ardent proponents. Many of the sermons sponsored by the predominantly Presbyterian Westminster Assembly 'contradicted' the religion of the less militantly godly and those who were less adamantly opposed to heresy.<sup>43</sup> It made little difference to Thomas Edwards whether he was a member of the Westminster Assembly or not when he admitted that his last attack upon toleration was hurriedly printed '*for feare [it] might be suppressed at the Presse and never see the Sun*'.<sup>44</sup> What John Coffey identifies as lying at the heart of Samuel Rutherford's psychology in fact characterised many heresiological writers, Presbyterian and 'Old Protestant':

The supreme irony of Rutherford's life was that he had misread the times. He lived...at the end of an era in which religion had formed a sacred canopy covering every aspect of life, and in which the principle of 'one realm, one religion' had been taken for granted. There lay ahead not the kingdom of God on earth but a world in which religious plurality and tolerance would gradually expand, and in which religion would eventually be pushed to the margins of political life.<sup>45</sup>

Thomas Corns is right to suggest that by 1645 '[m]en like Edwards, Featley, and Pagitt now neither spoke for the ascendancy nor retained a dialogue with it'.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>41</sup> Briggs, p. 24.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., p. 27.

<sup>43</sup> John F. Wilson, *Pulpit in Parliament: Puritanism During the English Civil Wars 1640-1648* (Princeton: Princeton University, 1969), p. 177, p. 108, p. 90.

<sup>44</sup> Thomas Edwards, *The Casting Down of the Last and Strongest Hold of Satan. or, A Treatise Against Toleration and Pretended Liberty of Conscience* (1647), A2r.

<sup>45</sup> Coffey, *Rutherford*, p. 255.

<sup>46</sup> Corns, *Uncloistered Virtue*, p. 194.

Christopher Marsh correctly argues that 'the passion and overstatement that characterised militant (and predominantly clerical) advice on shunning heretics...owed more than we might at first allow to a feeling of intellectual and moral isolation'.<sup>47</sup>

One can see why so many seventeenth-century heresiologists depicted an artificially-sectarianised environment, in which their own importance was exaggerated as well as the sects they described. Such alienation prompted men to re-invent textually the world they wanted to exist: a world in which the heresy-hunter played a crucial role, defending and defining Christianity. Their recourse to heresy-lists, therefore, was a means of returning to a world in which a godly cataloguer could define orthodoxy, defend it and authoritatively denounce its opponents; but, in doing so, a godly cataloguer was also expressing his own estrangement from the world around him. Christopher Marsh claims that '[t]he tension between the way things were and the way they ought to have been exerted a strong influence on much of the period's rhetoric, whatever its subject'.<sup>48</sup> With respect to heresiology in particular, such alienation from the present certainly popularised the heresy-lists as a means of describing it.

Such alienation also endowed the patristic and continental heresiology which was used to compile heresy-lists with disciplinary authority. The assumption of this authoritative status was the result of heresiologists drawing upon a self-appointed and self-consciously credible body of knowledge in order to claim credibility themselves. Heresiologists saw themselves, as Barbara Shapiro writes, 'as men of science, confronted with the same epistemological problems as other scientists'.<sup>49</sup> Much of this credibility was sought by drawing upon a credible and discipline-defining tradition of writing. It was not only Thomas Edwards who claimed for himself what Ann Hughes calls 'a heresiological heritage'.<sup>50</sup> A brief account of this 'heresiological heritage' describes the tradition in which so many heresiologists submerged themselves and which assumed, for many, the authority and breadth of a discipline.

Lists of the irreligious first appeared in Paul's epistles, such as that in II Timothy 3:1-4. This attacked the covetous, the boastful, the proud, the blasphemous, the disobedient, the unthankful and the unholy. Irenaeus of Lyons, Philaster of Brescia, Epiphanius of Salamis, Theodoret of Cyrus and Augustine of Hippo

<sup>47</sup> Marsh, *Family of Love*, p. 195.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., p. 195.

<sup>49</sup> Shapiro, *Probability*, p. 119.

composed larger and more methodical lists of heresies which, along with Paul's admonitions, were also very influential. They were reprinted, in a mixture of Greek and Latin, on the continent in the sixteenth century to add fuel to Reformation controversies. Editions were purchased by scholars and theologians and also by less erudite men: one Oxbridge college butler owned a copy of Augustine's *De Haeresibus* in an edition of Augustine's *Opera*.<sup>51</sup> Even the most spurious heresy-lists and pamphlets proudly cited patristic heresiologists such as Augustine and Epiphanius.<sup>52</sup> Patristic heresy-lists were more widely employed by Roman Catholic and Protestant apologists on the continent. Roman Catholic heresy-lists invariably identified Protestant reformers in a tradition of heterodoxy which extended back to biblical times. One of the most influential was Bernard of Luxembourg's *Catalogus Haereticorum* which was printed in Cologne in 1522 and went through seven editions during the 1520s and '30s. Alfonso de Castro's *Adversus Omnes Haereses* was printed in Paris in 1534 and went through 24 further editions by the middle third of the century. It was certainly read by Featley.<sup>53</sup> Guy of Perpignan's thirteenth-century heresy-list was reprinted in 1528 as *Summa de Haeresibus*. Protestant reformers hit back with their own catalogues of heresy which accused Roman Catholicism of being yet another corruption of the true Church of Christ. In his *The Image of Bothe Churches*, John Bale included lists of both heretics and their patristic opponents in an effort to turn Rome into the fountain of heresy which he believed it to be.<sup>54</sup> Lambertus Danaeus' influential edition of Augustine's *De Haeresibus* appeared in 1578 and that of Joannes Pontanus in Frankfurt around 1600.<sup>55</sup> The thirteen volume *Haereticorum Catalogus* of Konrad Schlusseburg was printed in Frankfurt between 1599 and 1611. This influenced English heresiologists, such as Edwards and Rutherford.<sup>56</sup> To use

<sup>50</sup> Hughes, 'Thomas Edwards' *Gangraena*, p. 2.

<sup>51</sup> Fehrenbach, gen. ed., III, p. 70, *passim*.

<sup>52</sup> John Taylor, XXXIII. *Religions, Sects, Societies, and Factions, of the Cavaliers Now in Armes Against the Parliament* (1643), A3<sup>v</sup>; Anon, *Ranters Religion*, A2<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>53</sup> Featley, *Dippers Dipt*, 1st edn, p. 201.

<sup>54</sup> Bale, fol. Kii<sup>v</sup>, fol. Kiii<sup>r</sup>, fol. Kv<sup>r</sup>, fol. Kvi<sup>r</sup>, fol. Miii<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>55</sup> Augustine of Hippo, *De Haeresibus*, ed. Lambertus Danaeus (Geneva, 1578); Joannes Pontanus, *Catalogus Praecipuorum...Quorum, in Augustana Confessione Crebra Fit Mentio, Haereticorum...Brevissimam Singulorum Continens Errorum Expositionem* (Frankfurt, 1600?).

<sup>56</sup> Thomas Edwards, *Antapologia: or, A Full Answer to the Apologeticall Narration of Mr Goodwin, Mr Nye, Mr Sympson, Mr Burroughs, Mr Bridge, Members of the Assembly of Divines* (1644), p. 76; *ibid.*, *Gangraena*, II, p. 141; Samuel Rutherford, *A Survey of the Spirituall Antichrist* (1648), p. 15, p. 68.

Pagitt's phrase, heresiologists were 'Author-studied spirit[s]' who inherited a long tradition of writing which dictated the nature of their work.<sup>57</sup>

Such was their immersion in this tradition that they often considered themselves to be scholars and historians. John Vicars suggested that the godly reader must 'look back to by-past times, and read Ecclesiastical Histories [to] truly know, and unquestionably understand' the 'grand and grosse *Hereticks*'.<sup>58</sup> The ecclesiastical history he had in mind was that of Eusebius of Caesarea which was translated into English by Meredith Hanmer in 1577 as *The Ancient Ecclesiastical Histories of the First Six Hundred Years After Christ*. This included not only Eusebius' history of the early church, but the histories of Socrates, Evagrius and Dorotheus. It was widely recommended as edifying heresiology in theological polemics, parliamentary sermons and hysterical pamphlets.

These heresiological and historical authorities provided seventeenth-century heresiologists with a disciplinary inheritance with which to define and defend their own perspective. Such an inheritance lent credibility to statements concerning sectarian activity and provided heresiologists who felt estranged from the world around them with a sense of community. To describe the heresies surrounding earliest Christianity, for example, Alexander Ross cited Irenaeus, Augustine, Theodoret, Epiphanius, Tertullian, Eusebius and Clement of Alexandria;<sup>59</sup> like Pagitt, he used Alsted to compile his list of Anabaptists, but made wider reference to Heinrich Bullinger, Pontanus, Gastius, Sleidan and Osiander.<sup>60</sup> Daniel Featley directed his readers towards Epiphanius, Augustine, Philaster and Alfonso de Castro.<sup>61</sup> Stephen Denison, in *The White Wolfe*, included a list of eighty-eight sects drawn from Augustine, Eusebius and Epiphanius.<sup>62</sup> The accumulation of such authorities was satirised at the time in pamphlets such as *The Phanatique Library*, a mock book-catalogue, but the accumulation of such texts had been parodied by authors since Rabelais.<sup>63</sup> Nevertheless, heresiologists were very keen to identify themselves with the

<sup>57</sup> Pagitt, *Heresiography*, 5th edn, p. 141.

<sup>58</sup> John Vicars, *The Schismatick Sifted: or, The Picture of Independents, Freshly and Fairly Washt-Over Again* (1646), p. 6.

<sup>59</sup> Alexander Ross, *IIANΣEBEIA: or, A View of All Religions in the World*, 1st edn (1653), pp. 163-212.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., pp. 400-2.

<sup>61</sup> Featley, *Dippers Dipt*, 1st edn, p. 201.

<sup>62</sup> Stephen Denison, *The White Wolfe, or, A Sermon Preached at Pauls Crosse, Feb. 11* (1627), pp. 9-10.

<sup>63</sup> Anon, *The Phanatique Library: Being a Catalogue of Such Books as Have Been Lately Made and by the Authors Presented to the Colledge of Bedlam* (1660), p. 7, passim; François Rabelais, *The Histories of Gargantua and Pantagruel*, trans. J. M. Cohen (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1955; first published in 1532-4), p. 190, p. 192.



'heresiological heritage' to which they turned in an effort to define their own discipline. In doing so, they fashioned themselves as heresy-hunting experts, 'scientists' in their own realm of heresiological expertise.

As the first heresiologist, Paul inspired several of his seventeenth-century descendants. Featley considered himself to be conspicuously Pauline, if not Paul himself. Featley claimed to be Paul's *miles christianus* by describing himself as involved in polemical 'Combat', as Homer's Hector before Troy and as Papirius Cursor marching against the Samnites.<sup>64</sup> An engraving of the dead Featley, in the fourth edition of *The Dippers Dipt*, celebrated him as 'Impugnator Papismi' (Attacker of Papists) and hung above his corpse the words of II Timothy 4:7: 'I have fought a good fight, I have finished *my* course, I have kept the faith'.<sup>65</sup> The elegiac imagery of the *miles christianus*, encouraged by the author's own martial ambitions, projected upon Featley's corpse the Pauline panoply of spiritual battle.<sup>66</sup> At least one other minister chose a Pauline 'Catalogue of vices' as the subject of a sermon and Edwards considered Paul's list of evil-doers to describe the original 'Authors' of heresy.<sup>67</sup> Even the title of Edwards' *Gangraena* was based upon Paul's reference to heresy as 'a canker' which the King James Version glossed as 'gangrene'.<sup>68</sup> When Marchamont Nedham suspected that 'Mr. Edwards looks to rise as high in renown, as the old Heresiographers, Augustine and Epiphanius', however, he was right to suggest that Edwards, like many others, looked to heresiological models other than Paul.<sup>69</sup> James Cranford suggested that Edwards followed a long tradition of writers when, in his imprimatur to the second part of *Gangraena*, he located Edward's efforts amongst 'the Labours of Epiphanius, Augustine, Philastrius, Theodoret...Calvin, Donus [Danaeus], and others of late'.<sup>70</sup>

So closely were such writers followed that inspiration often turned into imitation. John Coffey remarks that Samuel Rutherford's *Survey of the Spiritual Antichrist* was 'uncannily similar' to Calvin's *Contre la Secte Phantastique et*

<sup>64</sup> Featley, *Dippers Dipt*, 1st edn, B4r, B3v.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid., 4th edn, C1r.

<sup>66</sup> Ephesians 6:11-17; cf. Romans 13:12; I Thessalonians 5:8.

<sup>67</sup> John Brinsley, *An Antidote Against the Poysonous Weeds of Heretical Blasphemy* (1650), p. 3, passim; Edwards, *Gangraena*, I, p. 134.

<sup>68</sup> II Timothy 2:17.

<sup>69</sup> Marchamont Nedham, *Independencie No Schisme: or, An Answer to a Scandalous Book, Entituled, The Schismaticke Sifted* (1646), p. 4.

<sup>70</sup> Edwards, *Gangraena*, II,  $\chi$ 1v.

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<sup>70</sup> Edwards, *Gangraena*, II, x1v.

'heresiological heritage' to which they turned in an effort to define their own discipline. In doing so, they fashioned themselves as heresy-hunting experts, 'scientists' in their own realm of heresiological expertise.

As the first heresiologist, Paul inspired several of his seventeenth-century descendants. Featley considered himself to be conspicuously Pauline, if not Paul himself. Featley claimed to be Paul's *miles christianus* by describing himself as involved in polemical 'Combat', as Homer's Hector before Troy and as Papirius Cursor marching against the Samnites.<sup>64</sup> An engraving of the dead Featley, in the fourth edition of *The Dippers Dipt*, celebrated him as 'Impugnator Papismi' (Attacker of Papists) and hung above his corpse the words of II Timothy 4:7: 'I have fought a good fight, I have finished *my* course, I have kept the faith'.<sup>65</sup> The elegiac imagery of the *miles christianus*, encouraged by the author's own martial ambitions, projected upon Featley's corpse the Pauline panoply of spiritual battle.<sup>66</sup> At least one other minister chose a Pauline 'Catalogue of vices' as the subject of a sermon and Edwards considered Paul's list of evil-doers to describe the original 'Authors' of heresy.<sup>67</sup> Even the title of Edwards' *Gangraena* was based upon Paul's reference to heresy as 'a canker' which the King James Version glossed as 'gangrene'.<sup>68</sup> When Marchamont Nedham suspected that 'Mr. Edwards looks to rise as high in renown, as the old Heresiographers, Augustine and Epiphanius', however, he was right to suggest that Edwards, like many others, looked to heresiological models other than Paul.<sup>69</sup> James Cranford suggested that Edwards followed a long tradition of writers when, in his imprimatur to the second part of *Gangraena*, he located Edward's efforts amongst 'the Labours of Epiphanius, Augustine, Philastrius, Theodoret...Calvin, Donus [Danaeus], and others of late'.<sup>70</sup>

So closely were such writers followed that inspiration often turned into imitation. John Coffey remarks that Samuel Rutherford's *Survey of the Spiritual Antichrist* was 'uncannily similar' to Calvin's *Contre la Secte Phantastique et*

<sup>64</sup> Featley, *Dippers Dipt*, 1st edn, B4<sup>r</sup>, B3<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid., 4th edn, C1<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>66</sup> Ephesians 6:11-17; cf. Romans 13:12; I Thessalonians 5:8.

<sup>67</sup> John Brinsley, *An Antidote Against the Poysonous Weeds of Heretical Blasphemy* (1650), p. 3, passim; Edwards, *Gangraena*, I, p. 134.

<sup>68</sup> II Timothy 2:17.

<sup>69</sup> Marchamont Nedham, *Independencie No Schisme: or, An Answer to a Scandalous Book, Entitled, The Schismaticke Sifted* (1646), p. 4.

<sup>70</sup> Edwards, *Gangraena*, II,  $\chi$ 1<sup>v</sup>.

*Furieuse des Libertins, que so Nomment Spirituelz* (1545).<sup>71</sup> Rutherford himself was keen to align his own writings with those of Theodoret by citing Theodoret's letters verbatim.<sup>72</sup> Pagitt imitated Epiphanius by blurring the distinction between *Heresiography* as a spiritual and a medicinal corrective: 'Epiphanius writeth of the heresies of his time, calleth his Book *Pænarium*, that is, a medicinable box, containing saving medicaments against lying doctrine'.<sup>73</sup> Pagitt then went on to call several articles of faith 'some Methridate out of the Pannarium, or medicinable box of our Mother the Church'.<sup>74</sup> Like the Royal Society, Pagitt presented himself as ministering to the spiritually sick. He depicted orthodoxy as a medicinal balm with which to soothe rather than a cudgel with which to beat the ungodly. His *Heresiography* was a *panarion* itself, just like Epiphanius' heresy-list.

A more detailed account of Edwards' self-fashioning suggests the extent to which heresiologists modelled themselves on their heresiological inheritance and supported a heresiological discipline. Edwards considered himself 'a poor weak sinfull man' and, if we believe his detractors, possessed a 'thinne and empty bulke'.<sup>75</sup> But his diminutive form certainly contained a spirit that sought to embrace, revitalise and perpetuate the long tradition of heresiological writing:

There are two things, amongst many, that I have oft thought upon, and observed both from the Scriptures and the works of holy men, both antient and modern, which in this cause against the sectaries, makes me not to be troubled at reproaches, evil reports, &c. First, That these Ministers, who out of zeal to the glory God<sup>[sic]</sup> love of his truth, compassion to poor souls, have appeared and acted vigorously, by preaching and writing against the errours of the times and places they lived in, have still met with a great deal of malignity, hatred, reproaches, and speaking all manner of evil against them falsely, as also many misconstructions, neglects and unkinde dealings from friends. Secondly, Notwithstanding all this, they have gone on in their worke and way, with constancie and heroick resolution, triumphing and

<sup>71</sup> Coffey, *Rutherford*, p. 136.

<sup>72</sup> Cranford, A2<sup>v</sup>-A3<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>73</sup> Pagitt, *Heresiography*, 1st edn, B2<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 26.

<sup>75</sup> Edwards, *Gangraena*, I, B2<sup>r</sup>; John Maddocks and Henry Pinnell, *Gangrænachrestum, or, A Plaister to Allay the Tumour, and Prevent the Spreading of a Pernitious Ulcer* (1646), p. 7.

rejoycing in their sufferings, rather rising higher, and growing more bold, then being moved or discouraged.<sup>76</sup>

Edwards aspired to this image of heresiological martyrdom: resolute, determined, ostracised and unpopular. But legendary precedents are a hard thing to live up to. Such was the outrage which Edwards' accusations in *Gangraena* caused that he wisely retired to Holland and died, like a martyr nonetheless, within a year.<sup>77</sup>

Edwards' self-conscious adoption of a heresiological tradition is conspicuous. He identified himself with Christ against the Pharisees and Sadducees, Paul against the heretics of Corinth and Galatia, Athanasius against the Arians, Augustine and Jerome against the Donatists and Pelagians, and Luther, Zwingli and Calvin the 'Christian Hercules' against papists, Anabaptists and Antinomians.<sup>78</sup> The pressing immediacy of political and religious tumult appeared suppressed when he identified himself, his heretical opponents and his crusade with a biblical and patristic past. He repeatedly cited, for example, Theodoret as a primary authority against toleration.<sup>79</sup> It is therefore unsurprising that one of Edwards' correspondents suggested that he was the seventeenth-century Augustine, a *malleum hæreticorum*.<sup>80</sup> Historians have had similar thoughts: Gertrude Huehns calls Edwards 'the hammer of the sects' and, echoing this less literally, Christopher Hill calls him 'that great persecutor'.<sup>81</sup> Edwards' heresiological spin certainly worked: the minister who was a 'great persecutor' had in fact, quite conversely, died like a martyr. Edwards is one example of a heresiologist whose identification with 'a heresiological heritage' moulded not only his authorial persona but the way in which he has been perceived. This heritage, however, was less a tradition upon which to draw than a 'scientific' field or discipline in which to work, and which defined those who worked in it as authoritative experts and celebrated virtuosi.

Seventeenth-century heresiology certainly possessed a 'scientific' character concerned with claiming credibility and preserving community. The disciplinary nature

<sup>76</sup> Edwards, *Gangraena*, I, B2<sup>r-v</sup>.

<sup>77</sup> DNB, XVII, p. 128.

<sup>78</sup> Edwards, *Gangraena*, I, B2<sup>v</sup>-B3<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid., *Antapologia*, p. 286; cf. ibid., *Reasons Against the Independent Government of Particular Congregations* (1641), \*1<sup>r</sup>-\*3<sup>r</sup>; ibid., *Gangraena*, I, p. 122 [132], pp. 157-8.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid., *Gangraena*, II, p. 20.

<sup>81</sup> Huehns, p. 107, Christopher Hill, *The English Bible and the Seventeenth-Century Revolution* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1994; first published 1993), p. 163.



of 'a heresiological heritage' also provided heresiology with a source of evidence, fact and corroboration to help make the claims which its polemical function demanded of it. In this way, an account of seventeenth-century heresiology demonstrates the constellation of 'scientific' credentials which, I suggested earlier, defined early modern science. Heresiology was as concerned with the source of heresiological testimony as it was with the testimony itself. This testimony was treated empirically and corroborated where possible, was endowed with a moral function as a means of correcting religious error and was sometimes obtained from 'histories' or constituents of 'a heresiological heritage'. These 'scientific' criteria were of course subordinated to the construction of heresiological 'truths' which I have considered from only Shapin's sociological perspective. In other words, truth-telling depended upon not only the substance of the truth but who told it. Here, I have only examined how truth-tellers turned themselves into credible and trusted authorities, but I have not examined the nature of the 'truth' they told nor the means which were contrived for telling it. Though heresiologists often included letters in their polemics to corroborate reported sectarian antics and men such as Pagitt, Edwards and Featley claimed first-hand experience of confrontations with sectaries, the truth-telling strategies to which I now turn are those which can fabricate radicalism linguistically. One must remember that a truth-telling strategy did not necessarily tell the truth.

### **Scientific Truth: Taxonomy and Language Creation**

In my Introduction, I remarked that heresiology fabricated 'truth' in a Foucauldian fashion, according to the discourse in which it was expressed. I promised to recover the methodological 'how' of seventeenth-century heresiology as a discursive context in which heresy was embellished, elaborated and, at times, fabricated. I will approach this issue now by examining the intellectual context of heresiology as an early 'scientific' discipline and, having described the presence of taxonomy in seventeenth-century heresiology in the previous chapter, account for its significance here as a truth-telling strategy. This is to argue that taxonomy and nomenclature are forms of discourse which supported the study of heresy in the seventeenth century and formed the means by which heresy was understood or 'manufactured' as the product of a heresiological discipline. Both taxonomy and

nomenclature are linguistic forms of representation and it is unsurprising that the forms of 'truth' they manufactured are rooted in language: to this end, I refer here to heresiological parallels in Linnaean binomial nomenclature and universal language theory. These 'scientific' contexts are not only detected in the linguistic structures which defined heresiology, but constitute intellectual contexts which further illustrate heresiology's 'scientific' credentials. Precise examples of heresiological claims 'manufactured' or 'fabricated' through them, therefore, are the subject of the following two chapters: the discussion here, it should be noted, is little more than an introduction to these intellectual contexts upon which Chapters Five and Six rely.

Foucault's account of taxonomy in *The Order of Things* provides an important if simplistic chronology. Until the mid-seventeenth century, Foucault suggests that the world was perceived and understood according to analogies and resemblance. He calls the world 'a vast open book' through whose 'signatures' or mystically-designated contents one could 'read' it.<sup>82</sup> From the mid-seventeenth century onwards, however, during what Foucault calls the Classical Age, the world was viewed according to the taxonomic criteria of 'identity and difference'.<sup>83</sup> During this period, language became estranged from the things in the world whose names were an expression of their natures as 'signatures'. This was because many men began to embrace empiricism as guiding scientific method and taxonomy was an expression of empirical observation. This is how the emergence of empirical method disassociated language from things themselves and thrust upon it the task of describing them with what Foucault calls 'transparency and neutrality'.<sup>84</sup> This was achieved through the order of a taxonomic table. Language became a servant to truth rather than a sign of it, subordinated or attached to things rather than a manifestation of them. The purpose of taxonomic order was to represent an image of reality or 'truth' which could overcome the indeterminacies and inaccuracies of language. Though Foucault's intellectual narrative requires further fleshing out, taxonomy is, in this way, a truth-telling strategy.

Foucault is often seen as 'a philosopher of discontinuity' who is wrong to locate the beginning of the Classical Age and its 'taxonomic episteme' in around

<sup>82</sup> Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences*, trans. unknown (London: Routledge, 1997; first published in French, 1966), p. 27.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 54.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 56.

1650.<sup>85</sup> According to one historian, 'taxonomic thinking' originated amongst the ancient Greeks who sought to record which kinds of animal were dangerous, which had medicinal use, which were edible and so on. Their conception of taxonomy was 'based on simple ideas of comparing, dividing, grouping, categorizing and naming'.<sup>86</sup> Linnaeus did more than any other to establish modern taxonomic nomenclature in the eighteenth century by drawing upon these practices which were inherited from the ancient Greeks. Foucault is also wrong to suggest that perceiving the world according to analogy and resemblance died out during the seventeenth century. William Blake was still seeing a world in a grain of sand and eternity in an hour during the late eighteenth century. Thus Foucault neglects to describe how taxonomy emerged gradually and how perceptual resemblances had a tendency to linger and cling on to discursive practices. Though historians have examined the extent to which the 'new science' of the seventeenth century emerged out of its medieval predecessor, none have examined the effects of an overlap between taxonomic order, in which language was subordinated to an interpretative grid of relationships, and words, to use Foucault's phrase, as 'signs and forms of truth'.<sup>87</sup>

Foucault is more accurate when he suggests that taxonomists sought to 'reconstitute the very order of the universe by the way in which words are linked together and arranged in space'.<sup>88</sup> That order was a function of taxonomic practice and some men indeed sought to reconstitute the world by manipulating and ordering the words which described it. '*Taxonomia* also implies', Foucault continues, 'a certain power of the imagination that renders apparent what is not'.<sup>89</sup> In this way, one might suggest that taxonomy could fabricate the world it claimed to describe; indeed, I will suggest that polemical, heresiological taxonomy was able to describe the world it organised on the basis of its own taxonomic construction. Heresiological taxonomy, in other words, conjured a reality out of its own description of a sectarianised world, rather than the world itself.

<sup>85</sup> Paul Rabinow, 'Introduction', in Rabinow, ed., pp. 3-29, p. 9; George Huppert, 'Divinatio et Eruditio: Thoughts on Foucault', *Studies in the Philosophy of History*, 13 (1974), 191-207, passim.

<sup>86</sup> Richard E. Blackwelder, *Taxonomy: A Test and Reference Book* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1967), pp. 6-10; Simpson, *Taxonomy*, pp. 36-8.

<sup>87</sup> Ernan McMullin, 'Medieval and Modern Science: Continuity or Discontinuity?', *International Philosophical Quarterly*, 4 (1965), 103-29, passim.

<sup>88</sup> Foucault, *Order*, pp. 37-8.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 72.

This becomes clearer if one understands the nature of Foucauldian 'epistemes'. One commentator calls an episteme 'a system of possibility'.<sup>90</sup> This means that truth is what is possible to envisage, corroborate and confirm within a given field of knowledge, i.e. taxonomic representation or resemblance and analogy. Foucault considers the Classical Age to be a taxonomic episteme, but fails to acknowledge that taxonomic representation, resemblance and analogy competed with one another, jostled one another and infiltrated each other's functions. The mid-seventeenth century, emerging from the Renaissance into Foucault's Classical Age, was such a site of epistemological competition: resemblance informed, subverted and manipulated taxonomically-constructed identity and difference. Truth, therefore, could become malleable and elastic when located in a taxonomic table during this period because the constituents of that table, the words of which it was composed, retained the slippery potential of a Renaissance vocabulary to operate through resemblance, analogy and association. I have described in the previous chapter how sectarian labels, such as 'Anabaptist' and 'Antinomian', were terrifyingly evocative for a godly reader, but it remains to explain how the 'scientific' context of a taxonomic table endowed such words with their frightening immediacy and tangible threat.

Taxonomy arranged language in order to represent, or even to recreate, a sectarianised world whose reality was a polemical ideal rather than an accurate image of the world itself. As a truth-telling strategy, however, taxonomy presented this polemical ideal as a 'truth'. Foucault defines 'truth' as 'the types of discourse which [society] accepts and makes function as true; the mechanisms and instances which enable one to distinguish true and false statements, the means by which each is sanctioned; the techniques and procedures accorded value in the acquisition of truth'.<sup>91</sup> This recalls heresiology's status as a discipline which asserted 'scientifically'-verifiable 'truths', rather than as a mode of theological debate whose function was to record and revile heresy and error. In so far as heresiology governed knowledge and perceptions of heresy or was, in Foucault's words, 'a system of ordered procedures for the production, regulation, distribution, circulation and operation of statements', it can be seen as the determining force behind 'truths' about heresy.<sup>92</sup> In the same way, psychology, pathology and criminology are responsible for constructing notions of

<sup>90</sup> Mark Philp, 'Michel Foucault', in Quentin Skinner, ed., *The Return of Grand Theory in the Human Sciences* (Cambridge: CUP, 1994; first published 1985), pp. 65-81, p. 69.

<sup>91</sup> Foucault, 'Truth and Power' in Rabinow, ed., pp. 51-75, p. 73.

insanity, disease and crime. While concrete examples of heresiology's 'ordered procedures' for constructing heresy will be examined in Chapters Five and Six, it is necessary here to explore the linguistic construction of 'truths' in heresiological argument. These 'truths' are transmitted through or, rather, *as* the words which constitute heresiological nomenclature. I will therefore examine taxonomy and its relationship to artificial languages: namely, binomial nomenclature and universal language theory.

Early modern taxonomy was predicated upon Aristotelian essentialism, an account of which describes the relationship between taxonomy and nomenclature. Aristotle based his biology upon the existence of *genera*, *species*, *substances* and fundamentally *essences*. An organism, for Aristotle, was teleological in so far as it was defined by its function: in other words, it *is* what it *does* which is its function, its end or *telos*. This defining quality of being was its *essence* and differentiated one organism from another by determining the properties of its *substance* (in other words, its presence in matter) and therefore its classification as a *species* within a *genus*. In taxonomy proper, an organism's distinct and individuated essence determined that organism's presence in a taxonomic table.<sup>93</sup> Truth, a function of taxonomic representation, was an expression of essential identity and was situated at the core of taxonomically-based artificial languages which claimed to truly or essentially describe the things which they nominated.

M. M. Slaughter observes that '[a] table is to taxonomy...what a sentence is to language'.<sup>94</sup> This means that the constituents of both tables and sentences, taxonomic nomenclature and words themselves, are organised according to rules which dictate what they mean. A sentence is governed by grammatical propriety and a taxonomic table classifies according to its constituents' essential natures. As Slaughter writes:

By virtue of the fact that taxonomic tables classify, they define; by virtue of the fact that they define, they name; by virtue of the fact that they name, they can be conceived of as a kind of language. More precisely, we can adopt Foucault's term for this: a set of essential nominations.<sup>95</sup>

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<sup>92</sup> Ibid., p. 74.

<sup>93</sup> Slaughter, pp. 1-87.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid., p. 27.

<sup>95</sup> Ibid., pp. 66-7.



An 'essential nomination' is a label, according to Linnaeus whom Foucault cites, which 'expresses the name that is proper to it, and...this name recalls all the knowledge that may, in the course of time, have been acquired about the body thus named'.<sup>96</sup> In short the meaning of a word, or its content, unfurls out of its very name since that name is an expression of its nature, its essence.

But Foucault's citation of Linnaeus requires comment, not least because Linnaeus was a naturalist of the mid-eighteenth century, not a heresiologist of the mid-seventeenth. Carl Linné, the latinised form of whose name was Linnaeus, was a Swedish naturalist who in the mid-eighteenth century did more than any other to establish the now standard binomial system for scientifically classifying plants and animals. Before Linnaeus, early modern naturalists used two names to correspond to the Aristotelian categories of *genus* and *species* in order to identify a given organism within a taxonomic system. The first name located an organism within its *genus* and the second, a *nomen specificum*, was a descriptive phrase which distinguished that organism from the other *species* in its *genus*. Linnaeus' innovation was a response to the increasing numbers of organisms being discovered which required him to write new *nomines specificae* and revise existing ones. He therefore introduced a *nomen triviale*, a less informative but permanent name with which to describe a *species*.

A *nomen triviale* did not convey the essence of an organism but described its approximate appearance or character.<sup>97</sup> *Canis Lupus*, for example, is a Grey Wolf and *Canis Rufus* is a Red Wolf. Both are kinds of wild dog (*canis*). The grey variety is more common, hence the generalising *lupus* (wolf); the other is *rufus* (red). Linnaeus used more metaphorical binomials too. Species of monkey were given associational *nomines trivialae* (such as *Satyrus*, *Sylvanus*, *Silenus* and *Faunus*) which conveyed their semi-human appearance. Large beetles of the genus *Scarabaeus* were given names such as *Hercules*, *Simson* [sic], *Atlas* and *Typhoeus* to give an impression of their size.<sup>98</sup> Foucault calls the longer *nomen specificum* an example of 'propositional unfolding' in which the meaning of a word unfurled out of the word itself.<sup>99</sup> But even

<sup>96</sup> Cited by Foucault, *Order*, p. 159.

<sup>97</sup> John Lewis Heller, *Studies in Linnaean Method and Nomenclature* (Frankfurt: Verlag Peter Lang, 1983), pp. 41-75, pp. 277-301; Gunnar Erikson, 'Linnaeus the Botanist', in Tore Frängsmyr, ed., *Linnaeus: The Man and His Work*, rev. ed. (Canton: Science History Publications, 1983), pp. 63-109, *passim*.

<sup>98</sup> Heller, p. 293.

<sup>99</sup> Foucault, *Order*, p. 136.

the associational potency of metaphorical *nomines triviales* was able to convey evocative connotations, if not descriptive precision. Indeed, both specific and trivial names might be understood as 'essential nominations' as might, I will suggest in the following chapter, sectarian labels whose richly evocative potency was, in part, the effect of taxonomic representation. But 'essential nominations' were not unique to Linnaeus since, in the century before him, many had attempted to condense unwieldy descriptive designations into single names. This requires a further scientific context to be explored which informs our understanding of heresiological nomenclature and taxonomic expression: universal language theory.

Universal language theorists in the seventeenth century sought to construct systems of expression in which words related to things not arbitrarily but essentially.<sup>100</sup> These language projectors not only obtained their momentum from the deluge of dictionaries, lexicons and nomenclatures which informed much popular erudition but, like the compilers of heresy-lists, from taxonomy. Due to what Slaughter calls the 'the information explosion of the Renaissance and the early seventeenth century', some men considered it worthwhile to invent languages which could nominate all conceivable objects by naming them according to essential, *a priori* principles.<sup>101</sup> They were also reacting to the emergence of empiricism as accepted 'scientific' method. Thomas Sprat, for example, pointed out that the Royal Society 'did not regard the credit of *Names*, but *Things*'.<sup>102</sup> Universal language projectors who were affiliated to the Royal Society, such as John Wilkins, sought to erode the distinction between names and things so that their artificial languages could accurately describe the contents of the world by communicating essential rather than contingent qualities. This is not to say that the Royal Society was singularly devoted to developing universal languages or that heresiologists borrowed their ideas directly from language projectors; rather, this is to say that the unfurling of a meaning from a word, a thing from a name, was not an alien concept to the period, but a possible and practised verbal strategy that heresiology was able to appropriate.

<sup>100</sup> Slaughter, p. 3, *passim*; James Knowlson, *Universal Language Schemes in England and France 1600-1800* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1975), *passim*.

<sup>101</sup> Slaughter, vii, pp. 10-1; Lawrence Stone, 'The Educational Revolution in England 1560-1640', *P&P*, 28 (1964), 41-80; *ibid.*, 'Literacy and Education in England 1640-1900', *P&P*, 42 (1969), 69-139; David Cressy, *Literacy and the Social Order: Reading and Writing in Tudor and Stuart England* (Cambridge: CUP, 1980), pp. 175-89, *passim*.

<sup>102</sup> Sprat, p. 105.

Universal language theorists brushed aside the Hermogenean scepticism which Plato described in the *Cratylus* and assumed Cratylus' own view that names might correspond to the essential qualities of an object.<sup>103</sup> Previous projects to create such languages were attempts to recover the lost language of Adam.<sup>104</sup> It was only in the seventeenth century that men began to employ taxonomy, according to the procedures already prevalent in natural history, in order to nominate a language's constituents rationally, *essentially*, and hence *a priori*. The words of which these languages were composed were 'real characters'. They were names that were considered to be interchangeable with things and could therefore overcome the disparities between language and reality. There were two kinds of linguistic project in this vein of thinking. A universal language was a nomenclature whose words corresponded to nature's basic and primary components. Such vocabularies were arranged taxonomically to construct, define, describe and mediate as a language the wider world. A philosophical language, on the other hand, insisted upon a closer relationship between the world and the things within it, emerging out of a prolix taxonomy which formed a language itself.

Many men of learning were involved in such projects. Individuals such as Samuel Hartlib and John Webster were associated with the sectarian milieu and were attracted by the theory of signatures which underlay Paracelsan and Behmenist ideas as well as Adamic constructions of language.<sup>105</sup> Others pursued exclusively the taxonomic strategies described above. Men such as Seth Ward, George Dalgarno, Francis Lodowick and Cave Beck all produced universal and philosophical languages during the seventeenth century.<sup>106</sup> The best-known was that of John Wilkins whose *Essay Towards a Real Character, and for a Philosophical Language* appeared in 1668. Wilkins sought to unify Christianity by providing Protestantism with a universally comprehensible language that could exterminate the errors which caused divisive religious debates and the misunderstandings which blighted scriptural

<sup>103</sup> Plato, *Works*, trans. R. G. Bury et al, 12 vols (London: William Heinemann, 1962-70; first published 1914-27), IV, pp. 6-191.

<sup>104</sup> Umberto Eco, *The Search for the Perfect Language*, trans. James Fentress (London: Fontana, 1997; first published in Italian, 1995), pp. 1-116.

<sup>105</sup> Slaughter, pp. 105-6, pp. 135-7.

<sup>106</sup> D. C. Allen, 'Some Theories of the Growth and Origin of Language in Milton's Age', *Philological Quarterly*, 28 (1949), 5-16; Knowlson, *Universal Language*, pp. 7-138; Slaughter, p. 1, pp. 85-186; Eco, *Search*, pp. 209-92. For a more concise overview, see *ibid.*, *Serendipities: Language and Lunacy*, trans. William Weaver (London: Phoenix, 2000; first published in Italian, 1998), pp. 99-124, esp. pp. 101-4.

exegesis.<sup>107</sup> Wilkins was a founder member of the Royal Society and although the Society had no declared religious ambitions, religion was a context from which its activities cannot be divorced.

Heresiological nomenclature was not a universal or philosophical language although its verbal constituents were akin to 'real characters'. Wilkins described 'a *Real Character*' as 'the expression of our Conceptions...which should signifie *things* and not *words*'.<sup>108</sup> Wilkin's 'real characters' signified things and not words by virtue of their position in a governing taxonomy, and the critical parallel between heresiological nomenclature and 'real characters' is that taxonomically-bound words corresponded to things in the world, even if the world to which they corresponded was a product of that taxonomy. The *a priori* of a universal language, therefore, became the *ab verbis* of heresiological nomenclature.

Following a taxonomic practice established by Aristotle and anticipating the scientific binomials of Linnaeus, universal language theory provides another example of a nomenclature whose words' meanings flow out of their very names. Meanings were locked within words according to their location in a governing taxonomy, and that taxonomy then turned those words into a language, a specifically linguistic truth-telling strategy. In this way, universal language theory was the closest disciplinary relative to the heresy-list during the seventeenth century; during the eighteenth century, the taxonomic nomenclatures of natural history also recalled the extrapolation of things out of names. These 'scientific' contexts remind one of heresiology's 'scientific' credentials, but allow the possibility that 'scientific' truth-telling did not necessarily tell the truth.

Slaughter refers to the 'self-defining names' of universal languages which, like the 'essential nominations' of biological taxonomy, were capable of 'propositional unfolding'.<sup>109</sup> They were able to name an object, an organism or, for that matter, a sect which did not in fact exist. Yet the generation of that name, within a taxonomic context as an 'essential nomination', lent it the status of a 'truth'. This fabricated 'truth' exploited early modern notions of resemblance and analogy to project its

<sup>107</sup> John Wilkins, *Essay Towards a Real Character, and for a Philosophical Language* (1668), b1<sup>r</sup>; Knowlson, *Universal Language*, pp. 10-5; Vivian Salmon, 'Language Planning in Seventeenth-Century England: Its Context and Aims', in C. E. Bazell et al, eds, *In Memory of J. R. Firth* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1966), pp. 370-97, p. 371, *passim*.

<sup>108</sup> Wilkins, p. 21.

<sup>109</sup> Slaughter, p. 163.

'reality' through a convincing grid of taxonomic representation that attributed physical substance to an otherwise verbal entity. In this way, early scientific notions of language were able to fabricate radicalism. This recalls *Christianographie's* ambition to wrap the world up like an atlas and re-invent a de-Catholicised version of it and *Heresiography's* hysterical iteration of repeated and multiplying sects to construct a sectarianised dystopia. Like many other heresiologies, both texts employed nascent 'scientific' and scholarly discourse in the name of polemic to state 'scientifically' what they alleged argumentatively.

### Introducing Heresiological Nomenclature

The heresies which heresy-lists enumerated were imaginatively potent nomenclatures. These nomenclatures were rooted in taxonomy, out of which, in Foucault's words, one was able 'to fabricate a language'.<sup>110</sup> Since biological and linguistic nomenclatures were largely composed of 'essential nominations' whose purpose was to overcome the distinction between reality and the imagination, I am suggesting that the activity of creating a language of radicalism, re-created radicalism itself. Having described how 'rules' attached certain associations to specific names in the previous chapter, I now intend to show how names were attached to things by relying upon the 'scientific' contexts discussed here. This account of heresiological nomenclature continues to describe precisely *how* heresy-lists fabricated radicalism before examining examples of that fabrication in the final two chapters.

Sectarian labels may be understood as primitive 'essential nominations'. Daniel Featley denied that Anabaptist was a '*nicke name*', for example, but a 'right name', 'their own proper name'.<sup>111</sup> Another author attacked sectaries who disputed their 'Nick-names': 'Tis well they are ashamed of the name, 'twere better they were ashamed of the thing...We doe not say some of you are Hereticks, and Schismaticks, because so called; but we call you so, because you are so'.<sup>112</sup> Thus seventeenth-century heresiology created a specifically polemical nomenclature whose 'transparency and neutrality', to return to Foucault's phrase, was a measure of the clarity and intensity of its accusations. Beyond this, heresiological 'essential

<sup>110</sup> Foucault, *Order*, p. 63.

<sup>111</sup> Featley, *Dippers Dipt*, 1st edn, pp. 203-4.

<sup>112</sup> Anon, *Sectary Dissected*, p. 4, pp. 31-2.



nominations' were names which admitted particular accusations, such as stupidity, novelty, antiquity or promiscuity, which were given the status of a 'truth' by being corroborated by the language and labelling in which those accusations were made. These accusations were corroborated through the associations which a given label elicited in the reader or hearer.

Heresiological nomenclature was not a functioning language but employed a breadth and depth of expression which endowed it with linguistic versatility and range. It had no conventional syntax, prepositions or conjunctions and Foucault is right to point out the nominal core of language as a whole:

[A]ll words, of whatever kind, are dormant names: verbs have joined adjectival names to the verb to be; conjunctions and prepositions are the names of gestures now frozen into immobility; declensions and conjugations are no more than names that have been absorbed. [Language] is nothing in itself but an immense rustling of denominations that are overlying one another, contracting into one another, hiding one another, and yet preserving themselves in existence in order to permit the analysis or the composition of the most complex representations.<sup>113</sup>

A heresiological nomenclature was certainly 'an immense rustling of denominations' and the 'complex representations' which it created were the effect of the richly associational vocabulary which those 'denominations' formed. The associational potency of words as nouns is described by Wittgenstein who concurs with Foucault's opinion that language is composed of proper names: 'the meaning of a word is an image, or a thing correlated to the word [which] roughly means, we are looking at words as though they were all proper names, and we then confuse the bearer of a name with the meaning of the name'.<sup>114</sup> This certainly operated in seventeenth-century heresiology, whose sectarian labels acted as 'essential nominations' which turned into corroborating descriptions of themselves.

The effect is distinctly poetic. Men have long known that the Greeks provided models of behaviour whose notoriety was such that their names were used to describe types of personality and character. Philip Sidney, for example, drew attention to this

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<sup>113</sup> Foucault, *Order*, pp. 102-3.

by comparing the ability of Greek characters to define emotional states with taxonomic classification:

Anger, the Stoics say, was a short madness: let but Sophocles bring you Ajax on a stage, killing and whipping sheep and oxen, thinking them the army of Greeks, with their chieftains Agamemnon and Menelaus, and tell me if you have not a more familiar insight into anger than finding in the schoolmen his genus and difference. See whether wisdom and temperance in Ulysses and Diomedes, valour in Achilles, friendship in Nisus and Euryalus, even to an ignorant man carry not an apparent shining; and contrarily, the remorse of conscience in Oedipus, the soon repenting pride of Agamemnon, the self-devouring cruelty in his father Atreus, the violence of ambition in the two Theban brothers, the sour-sweetness of revenge in Medea; and, to fall lower, the Terentian Gnatho and our Chaucer's Pandar so expressed that we now use their names to signify their trades; and finally, all virtues, vices, and passions so in their own natural seats laid to the view, that we seem not to hear of them, but clearly to see through them.<sup>115</sup>

In fact, Ajax, Agamemnon, Menelaus, Ulysses, Diomedes, Achilles, Nisus and Euryalus generated a language which was more potent than a taxonomically-constructed one, employing 'genus and difference'. Their names were not simply names since the 'virtues, vices and passions', with which they were synonymous, were observed through or *as* them. Early modern drama, notably comedy, also employed aptronymically-relevant names.<sup>116</sup> They were *taxa* without a taxonomy. Heresiology employed taxonomies extensively and, in addition to accumulating specific lists of heresies, used labels in a similar way to imply a substantial meaning which the label itself corroborated.

The associational potency of words, however, has rarely been studied beyond the field of poetry or poetic discourse. Examinations of the *political* language of the seventeenth century are in this respect rare. Conal Condren remarks that 'what is very largely left of early modern society is words severed from the full cultural resonances

<sup>114</sup> Wittgenstein, *Books*, p. 18.

<sup>115</sup> Sir Philip Sidney, *An Apology for Poetry or The Defence of Poesy*, ed. Geoffrey Shepherd (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1965; first published 1595), p. 108.

of their use and from the dynamics of their employment; and what is left to us is certainly not words in the full context of their referents'.<sup>117</sup> The 'context' of their 'referents' was the semantic field in which polemics took place. Condren suggests that seventeenth-century political language employed a range of metaphors in argumentation which exploited 'cultural resonances' or associations. He argues that verbal referents were manipulated in argument to achieve the strategic 'conflation' of various key concepts. He explores the semantic field of religious controversy, for example, and notes the 'exotic abundance of labels for political groups, factions or parties'. These 'catch-cry labels' were not applied 'to any institutional or doctrinal identity', but to opponents in a controversy whose identities could be blackened from 'argument by implication'. This accusation-through-implication was precisely the method of argumentation whose claim to be observation or statement often obscured the salacious and scurrilous content of the argument itself. Argument of this kind involved what Condren rightly calls 'presuppositional hostility' and 'suppressed syllogisms'.<sup>118</sup> George Savile provides a usefully contemporary insight:

Amongst all the Engines of dissention, there hath been none more powerfull in all times than the fixing names upon One another Contumely and reproach: and the reason is plaine in respect of the people, who though generally they are incapable of making a Syllogisme or forming an Argument, yet they can pronounce a Word, and that serveth their turne, to throwe it with their dull malice at the head of those they doe not like.<sup>119</sup>

Condren's thesis suggests that 'only a handful of terms and expressions' were involved in this conflatory process in which terms were captured, collided and combined in order to form a field of verbal controversy on which to do battle. He examines 'subject' and 'citizen', for example, and 'resistance' and rebellion'.<sup>120</sup> Unfortunately, his provocative account of labelling not only terminates in a description of political rather than religious labels, but a discussion of very few

<sup>116</sup> Anne Barton, *The Names of Comedy* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1991), passim.

<sup>117</sup> Conal Condren, *The Language of Politics in Seventeenth-Century England* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994), pp. 3-4.

<sup>118</sup> Ibid., pp. 49-50.

<sup>119</sup> George Savile, *The Works of George Savile Marquis of Halifax*, ed. Mark N. Brown, 3 vols (Oxford: Clarendon, 1989), I, p. 178.

<sup>120</sup> Condren, pp. 91-139.

examples. A more satisfying direction in which to develop these ideas is to emphasise Savile's suggestion that 'making a Syllogisme' amounted to 'forming an Argument' and that such an abbreviated argument could be condensed into 'a Word'. Like the constituents of a universal language or a binomial nomenclature, sectarian labels claimed to correspond directly to the sect they described. They did so by immediately recalling the beliefs and behaviours of a sect according to the associations conveyed by its name and its location in a specific taxonomy. The spontaneity of this process can be described as *aptronymic*.

Apronymic naming occurs when one names according to given characteristics of the named. To define it with etymological simplicity, an aptronym is an *apt name*.<sup>121</sup> Philip Sidney noted himself, in the passage cited earlier, that the names of Gnatho the parasite and Pandar the pimp were used 'to signify their trades' because their names so aptly described the parasites and pimps with which they were synonymous. An aptronym is an especially evocative kind of name since it is able to describe, as well as to simply nominate, say, a heresy in the brevity of a single word. In doing so, it constructs stereotypes and can create polemically advantageous caricatures. Ranters ranted, for example, and Divorcers divorced. In this way, an aptronym is an 'essential nomination'. Even sectarian labels which were derived from biblical and patristic sources, places of origin or location, or extrapolated out of their founding heresiarch's identity or their congregational leader's name were aptronymic since they collapsed into a single label both a quickly-recalled definition and a description of a given sect's primary and distinguishing characteristic. These characteristics provided not only the cause but the corroboration of many of the accusations levelled by heresiological writers. As 'essential nominations', aptronymic labels projected out of themselves a convincing and polemically-advantageous profile of a given sect. This is why heresies were able to exist so tangibly within heresy-lists. Their own names conveyed their beliefs and practices: the proof or 'truth' of a heresiologist's accusation was found in the very name of the sect he described. Language became self-referential as a sectarianised world was created within a world of words. Language no longer applied to an external *res* but to *sua verba*, to itself. Hence the fabrication of radicalism.

<sup>121</sup> Tom McArthur, ed., *The Oxford Companion to the English Language* (Oxford: OUP, 1992), p. 78.

Seventeenth-century heresiology turned very quickly into a science of fabrication, at the heart of which was heresiological nomenclature. This was a collection of controversial labels whose combination and distribution constituted a language of accusation and condemnation. This language drew upon intellectual contexts which gave heresiology 'scientific' credentials and a disciplinary inheritance which lent it both credibility and community. In this way, heresiological nomenclature was a 'truth-telling strategy' because it created a heresiological discipline, complete with its own vocabulary, and a sense of credibility and integrity since that discipline was based upon a discernible 'heresiological heritage'. But the crucial characteristic of heresiology as a discipline, a 'science' and a truth-telling strategy is that it was not truly scientific: it did not tell the truth, or try to do so. This breaks open heresiology's argumentative dynamic which is the subject of the final two chapters. This dynamic draws heavily upon the methodological context described in this chapter: Chapter Five examines heresiological nomenclature and the kinds of accusation which its aptronymic labelling enabled; Chapter Six scrutinises the metaphors which were used to describe heresies in the context of early natural history. Both describe in detail the fabrication of radicalism in seventeenth-century heresiology.



## **Heresiological Nomenclature: The Linguistic Fabrication of Radicalism**

From his pulpit in St. Edmund the King, Pagitt bellowed the immediacy of the sectarian threat at his congregation: '*They come!*'.<sup>1</sup> Such anonymity was a rare instance of namelessness since heresiology was so concerned with names and naming. This chapter examines the names by which sectaries were known in relation to the accusations levelled at them; in doing so, it will be shown that the polemical thrust of much seventeenth-century heresiology flowed out of its own language and textual environment rather than the physical, human reality of the heretics themselves. This builds upon the aptronymic naming which was described in the previous chapter. Here, I examine the associations which sectarian labels drew upon to enable the accusations they made. The majority of sectarian labels discussed in this chapter are drawn from *Heresiography* for the sake of brevity, but other labels which more clearly illustrate the broader dimensions of my discussion are also examined.

There are three main centres of heresiological accusation which correspond to specific naming strategies. The first, at the heart of heresiological nomenclature, concerns aptronymic naming itself and the stereotyped caricatures which it constructs. The second describes how neologisms support accusations of novelty and, together with syntactically versatile aptronyms, broaden and enrich a specifically heresiological vocabulary. The third centre of accusation concerns charges of sectarian retrogression and the corroboration of such claims through numerous textually-derived sectarian labels. Finally, the role and significance of taxonomy in this labelling context is explored since the fabrication of radicalism was also an effect of taxonomy and nomenclature operating in conjunction with one another.

### **Caricaturing Heresy: Verbal Aptronyms**

Sectaries were invariably caricatured as anathema to the godly and goodly virtues of the propertied and Protestant majority. Peter Lake suggests that anti-sectarian writers and controversialists often defined themselves 'against a polemically

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<sup>1</sup> Pagitt, *Wolfe*, p. 11.

constructed other, an ideal type of sectarian, separatist and, indeed, heretical excess'.<sup>2</sup> One example of this is sensitively examined by Thomas Corns. He rightly suggests that Daniel Featley's caricaturing method in *The Dippers Dipt* made accusations of 'ignorance, dissoluteness (generally reflected in sexual misconduct), and above all indigence'; then, Corns continues, Featley went out of his way 'to equate all Independents and sectaries with the image he has created'.<sup>3</sup> For example, Featley claimed that Anabaptists were 'Illiterate', 'Sottish', 'lying and blasphemous', 'impure and carnall', 'cruell and bloody', 'prophane and sacrilegious' and even forsaken by God when they met 'untimely deaths, and fearfull ends'.<sup>4</sup> Corns is right to suggest that 'polemicists created an image, an archetype of the sectary, carefully tailored to exploit the enfranchised classes who had returned the Long Parliament, and then they associated each sectarian manifestation with this scarecrow'.<sup>5</sup> Elsewhere, he rightly observes that 'politically useful terms', such as 'impure', 'carnall', 'cruell' and 'bloody', were used to make this 'scarecrow', but he fails to notice that Featley himself suggested that the 'scarecrow' was to be taken with, if not a pinch, 'a graine of Salt'.<sup>6</sup>

Yet stereotyping was so widespread that we can presume it was widely believed or, at least, that there was a popular market for it. A satirical *Anabaptists Catechisme* depicted Anabaptists as promiscuous, uneducated gluttons who spurned both ecclesiastical discipline and church customs.<sup>7</sup> John Taylor turned Brownists into a motley crew of button-makers, box-makers and weavers.<sup>8</sup> At least two plays of the period depicted Familists and Ranters as drunken, foolish, promiscuous, conniving and conspiratorial.<sup>9</sup> Indeed, the theatre was a popular forum in which religious stereotypes were animated and popularised.<sup>10</sup> Heresiological caricatures also had much in common with the construction of human types in character books. Pagitt

<sup>2</sup> Lake, *Boxmaker's Revenge*, pp. 262-3.

<sup>3</sup> Corns, 'Milton's Quest', pp. 770-1.

<sup>4</sup> Featley, *Dippers Dipt*, 1st edn, pp. 199-219.

<sup>5</sup> Corns, 'Milton's Quest', p. 770.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., *Uncloistered Virtue*, p. 175; Featley, *Dippers Dipt*, 1st edn, p. 199.

<sup>7</sup> Anon, *The Anabaptists Catechisme: With All Their Practises* [sic], *Meetings and Exercises* (1645), pp. 3-8.

<sup>8</sup> John Taylor, *The Brownists Conventicle: or An Assemblie of Brownists, Separatists, and Non-conformists* (1641), pp. 2-4, passim.

<sup>9</sup> Thomas Middleton, *The Family of Love*, ed. Simon Sheperd (Nottingham: Nottingham University, 1979; first published 1608), passim; Samuel Sheppard, *The Jovial Crew, or, The Devil Turn'd Ranter* (1651), passim.

<sup>10</sup> Collinson, 'Theatre', pp. 157-69; ibid., 'Ecclesiastical Vitriol: Religious Satire in the 1590s and the Invention of Puritanism', in John Guy, ed., *The Reign of Elizabeth I: Court and Culture in the Last Decade* (Cambridge: CUP, 1995), pp. 150-70; Kristen Poole, 'Facing Puritanism: Falstaff, Martin Marprelate and

included in *Heresiography* Thomas Scot's character of a Brownist and Thomas Overbury's character of a Jesuit.<sup>11</sup> Other papist, puritan and sectarian characters were also popular.<sup>12</sup> Such caricatures saturated descriptions of heresy and, although largely 'scarecrows', were no doubt powerful images with which people associated sectaries. They were, as Corns suggests, known by 'politically useful terms' and it is my interest here to show how these caricatures, and these 'politically useful terms', were associated with the sectarian labels that identified so provocatively the radical threat.

This was achieved through the use of aptronymic sectarian labels which corresponded to and supported these caricatures. Such labels claimed to correspond directly to a sectary's social, spiritual or moral character because it was common for men to take the Cratyllic position, as one writer expressed it, that since '*men are known by their names...there cannot be a surer mark to know one from another, than their Name*'.<sup>13</sup> In this way, names were aptronymic labels. 'Because the Bishops imposed the *nicknames* of Puritan and Sectary', wrote one pamphleteer, 'cannot we be sure they are your *true names*, and pitty it is they should be *Christian names*?'.<sup>14</sup> Richard Carter, another popular pamphleteer, also considered Christian names to be part of a sectarian identity when he described a dialogue between two sectaries. Tomasse Pragmaticus invited Nick-all-asse Nonsense to 'a private meeting' at which Nick-all-asse was invited to meet a group of sectaries who were known by shamelessly and comically alliterating aptronyms. These included Anthony Antinomist, Simon Separatist, Frank Familist, Agnes Anabaptist, Kate Anabaptist, Frank Footbaptist and, before any more baptists appeared, 'that poore silly, simple, sencelesse, sinlesse, shamlesse [sic] naked wretch *Alice the Adamite*'.<sup>15</sup> Patrick Collinson remarks with amusement that one Margaret Browne of Slaughterford in Wiltshire was in 1605

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the Grotesque Puritan', in Ronald Knowles, ed., *Shakespeare and Carnival: After Bakhtin* (London: Macmillan, 1998), pp. 97-122; Poole, *Radical Religion*, pp. 16-44; Holden, pp. 94-145.

<sup>11</sup> Pagitt, *Heresiography*, 1st edn, pp. 67-8, p. 131.

<sup>12</sup> Sir Thomas Overbury, *The Overburian Characters*, ed. W. J. Paylor (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1936; reprinting characters from the 1614 edition and the thirty-six additional characters from the sixth impression, 1615), pp. 26-7, pp. 44-5, pp. 61-2; John Earle, *Micro-cosmography, or, A Peece of the World Discovered in Essayes and Characters* (1628), C9<sup>r</sup>-C10<sup>r</sup>, I2<sup>r</sup>-I5<sup>r</sup>; *ibid.*, anr edn (1628), H5<sup>v</sup>-H8<sup>v</sup>; Anon, *The Jesuits Character: or, A Description of the Wonderfull Birth, Wicked Life, and Wretched Death, of a Jesuite* (1642), *passim*; Anon, *The Character of an Agitator* (1647), *passim*; John Gere, *The Character of an Old English Puritane, or Non-Conformist* (1646), *passim*; Thomas Forde, *The Times Anatomiz'd, in Severall Characters* (1647), D4<sup>v</sup>-D6<sup>r</sup>; Anon, *An Agitator Anotomized [sic]: or, The Character of an Agitator* (1648), *passim*; see J. W. Smeed, *The Theophrastan "Character": The History of a Literary Genre* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1985), *passim*.

<sup>13</sup> Edward Lyford, *Sepher Milaytzath HaShemot: or, The True Interpretation and Etymologie of Christian Names* (1655), A6<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>14</sup> Anon, *Sectary Dissected*, p. 20.

<sup>15</sup> Carter, pp. 13-5.

accused of being a Brownist.<sup>16</sup> Such names emphasise the polemical function of aptronyms and suggest that sectarian positions, as well as characteristics, were conveyed through a name. Yet this process was rather more complex in practice.

The meaning of a heresiological aptronym unravelled out of the label itself when it unfurled into a string of associated terms. This relied upon rhetorical prolixity as much as a reader's preconceptions but numerous instances illustrate the associational resonances which a single name could mobilise. Balaam, for example, was a pagan seer and prophet-for-hire against the Israelites. The Greek equivalent of his name was Nicolas and Nicolaitans were described by John as those who 'eat things sacrificed unto idols, and...commit fornication'.<sup>17</sup> With these biblical associations, Pagitt unpacked Balaamites as:

...proud Priests of *Baal*, Priests of *Baalam*, Ministers of Antichrist, of the Letter, and by the will of man, blinde guides, grand seducers, Antichrists of this world, Preachers of the carnall Letter, greedy dumb doggs, men of sin, bloody *Cains*, hirelings of the dark Ministry, beastly worship, and Antichristian wayes...<sup>18</sup>

The unfurled name merged with a host of fearsome types: grand seducers, worldly Antichrists, murderous Cains. Such a name was rarely itself, but the tip of an associational iceberg, a grossly inflated entity whose impact relied upon verbal association rather than empirical presence.

An example from Edwards' *Gangraena* proves the point more emphatically. John Goodwin's *Cretensis* was a hostile response to Edwards' attack upon him in the first part of *Gangraena*. *Cretensis* itself was a reference to Titus 1:12, implying that Edwards was a liar, an evil beast and a slow belly like the Cretians whom Paul described there. Edwards' reaction to this was to project *Cretensis* into a prolix list of characteristics: 'in one word, *Cretensis* is a most ungodly, Antichristian, insolent, proud, malicious, wrathfull, lying, obscene, scurrilous, nonsense, absurd, contradictory peece'.<sup>19</sup> Goodwin himself became synonymous with *Cretensis*, as did a succession of heresiarchs. Edwards continued: 'in one word, I do not think there's

<sup>16</sup> Cited in Patrick Collinson, 'Sects and the Evolution of Puritanism', in Bremer, ed., pp. 147-66, p. 151.

<sup>17</sup> Revelations 2:14.

<sup>18</sup> Pagitt, *Heresiography*, 5th edn, p. 140.

any man in the Kingdome hath a more hereticall head than *Cretensis*...if the man lives but one seven yeers, he will prove...another *David George, Francken, Socinus*, and be canonized for a Saint amongst those of *Munster, Racconia* [sic], &c'.<sup>20</sup> One could fit a lot into 'one word': properties, characteristics, associated identities and locations. This is because certain words, such as Socinus and Münster, came to embody heterodoxy. In other words, nouns slid across actions and men became types.

The direction in which such words expanded was often determined etymologically. In the second edition of *Heresiography*, for example, Pagitt described Pelagianism's spread in terms of its heresiarch's own name. He referred to Luther's examination of Pelagius' etymology: 'Luther saith, he was called Pelagius of Pelagus the sea; his errors like the Sea overflowing in a manner the whole world'.<sup>21</sup> Luther's conception of Pelagius attempted a verbal double-whammy when we are reminded that Pelagius, a Welsh monk, was called 'in Welch...Morgan which signifieth the sea' too.<sup>22</sup> Such a representation of religious radicalism was not anchored in the world in which the sects were said to inhabit, or the world they inhabited in the past, but the world of words in which heresiology located them. *Christianographie* contained an interesting example of this concerning kinds of Christian: the name 'Habassin' for an Ethiopian was derived from their commendably Calvinist conviction that 'habessen' which means, in Ethiopian, 'I have sinned'.<sup>23</sup> Thus the name of these Christians argued their Calvinist theology by virtue of its very meaning.

Etymologies were a favoured means of arguing that a name represented a sect's or a sectary's intrinsic character. In *Heresiography*, *Liberi*, meaning children, and, *Libertines*, were both derived from the Latin adjective, meaning free as opposed to enslaved, even extending to a sense of freedom without restraint, without moral law. This root-word communicated the primary characteristics of the nominated group through their own name. Latinisms were not rare in religious polemic, but their use often introduced a sense of poetic concision and a greater richness of expression than hack-pamphleteering otherwise involved. Some 'scurrilous pamphlets', for example, were described as 'Cinædean' (from *cinaedus*, or 'unnaturally lusty') and heresy-lists as 'Catullian' (from Catullus, the occasionally obscene Roman poet as

<sup>19</sup> Edwards, *Gangraena*, II, p. 41, my emphasis.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., II, p. 44, my emphasis.

<sup>21</sup> Pagitt, *Heresiography*, 2nd edn, p. 138.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., p. 138.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., *Christianographie*, 2nd edn, I, p. 110.



well as the Latin *catulinus*, or 'dog-like').<sup>24</sup> Greek also informed sectarian identities, such as 'Catharist' Anabaptists (from καθαριος, meaning 'pure'), as did Hebrew. 'Beliamites' were derived from 'Belial', which occurs several times in the Bible and whose uncertain origins probably stem from the meanings 'worthlessness', 'wickedness' or 'destruction'.<sup>25</sup> Milton famously used the word for the arch-sophist Belial in *Paradise Lost*.<sup>26</sup> Pagitt's penchant for verbal invention, however, turned 'Belial' into Beliamite, a form unrecorded in the *OED*.<sup>27</sup> Likewise, Ebionites were derived from the Hebrew for 'poor men' and appeared in patristic heresiologies from Irenaeus onwards.<sup>28</sup> Pagitt's use of the word in English predates the first recorded use in the *OED* by five years.<sup>29</sup> This not only draws attention to the several languages which informed a sectarian terminology, but indicates the extent to which etymological derivation controlled the meanings of sectarian aptronyms.

Sectarian identities were often attributed their own, often contrived etymological heritage. The surname of the Zwickau weaver and prophet Nicholas Storch, for example, was anglicised by Daniel Featley into 'Stock':

[T]he name of the father of the Anabaptists signifieth in English a senselesse piece of wood, or block, and a very blockhead was he: yet out of this block were cut those chips that kindled such a fire in Germany, Holsatia, and Suevia, that could not be fully quenched...<sup>30</sup>

Featley went on to point out that Manichaeism originated from Manes, whose name in turn came from 'μανια, *insania*, madness'.<sup>31</sup> Acrius, a quarrelsome fourth-century presbyter of Pontus, 'carieth wind in his name, and a light giddy-braind fellow was he'.<sup>32</sup> John Beukeld of Leiden was a tailor who 'stitched up a Kingdome in one yeer,

<sup>24</sup> Maddocks and Pinnell, p. 7.

<sup>25</sup> F. L. Cross, ed., and E. A. Livingstone, rev. ed., *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 3rd rev. edn (Oxford: OUP, 1997), p. 180.

<sup>26</sup> John Milton, *Paradise Lost*, ed. Alastair Fowler, repr. (Harlow: Longman, 1992; first published 1667), ii, ll. 109-228.

<sup>27</sup> See figure 4 (p. 162) for my cautionary note concerning use of the *OED* and *OED Online*.

<sup>28</sup> Cross and Livingstone, p. 523.

<sup>29</sup> Pagitt, *Heresiography*, 1st edn, p. 116. Interestingly, Featley also used the word in 1645, see Featley, *Dippers Dipt*, 1st edn, C3v; *OED Online*. <<http://oed.com/cgi/entry/00071772>>

<sup>30</sup> Featley, *Dippers Dipt*, 1st edn, C3v, cf. p. 200.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 200.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 200.

and *ravelled it out* the next'.<sup>33</sup> Featley continued these etymological acrobatics. Ignatius Loyola, who founded the Jesuits, was one of 'the greatest *Incendiaries* in the Christian world' because he 'hath *Ignem, fire in his name*'.<sup>34</sup> One John Clarke claimed to have found in Alsted a transparent if unsubtle name for the Jesuits themselves: '*Bombardo-gladio-sun-hasti-flammi-loquentes*'.<sup>35</sup> Allowing for typographical errors, this name might be translated to mean '[those] speaking [of] their cannon, sword, spear and fire' which described well the Jesuits' characterisation as dangerous 'incendiaries'. Such innovative use of language illustrates heresiology's transformation of heresy into a linguistic object.

In addition to being aptronymic, heresiological nomenclature possessed a degree of syntactical fluidity. Growing out of the descriptive potency of sectarian labels was a corroborating spectrum of inflected grammatical forms. These provided epithets, adjectives, and participles which could be locked together to correspond to and support accusations of heretical behaviour. Grammatical forms also gave rise to sect-names when the beliefs or activities alluded to were too complex for a simple descriptive label ('*Bombardo-gladio-sun-hasti-flammi-loquentes*' was a single, if extreme, instance of this). The following examples therefore illustrate how much of *Heresiography*'s sectarian terminology included different grammatical forms.

The verbal roots of many aptronyms are clear. Separatists and Semi-Separatists were evidently renowned for separating from the church, at least to a degree. Seekers sought salvation and Expecters expected it. Quakers and Shakers were reputed to quake and shake. George Fox recorded that one Justice Bennet of Derby 'first called us Quakers because we bid him tremble at the word of God'.<sup>36</sup> Divorcers, whom Pagitt projected out of Milton's *Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*, 'in which the bonds of marriage are let loose to inordinate lust', purportedly sought to divorce their partners with promiscuous abandon.<sup>37</sup> Before Pagitt was made aware of the term 'Antiscripturians' in 1646, he clumsily referred to this sect as 'Deny the Scriptures' who evidently denied the authority of the Bible.<sup>38</sup> Though these names

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., p. 203.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., p. 200.

<sup>35</sup> John Clarke, *Leaven, Corrupting the Childrens Bread; or Christs Caveat to Beware of Sectaries and their Dangerous Doctrines* (1646), p. 18.

<sup>36</sup> Fox, p. 51.

<sup>37</sup> Pagitt, *Heresiography*, 2nd edn, p. 142. Pagitt was in fact copying verbatim Daniel Featley, see *Dippers Dipt*, 1st edn, B2v.

<sup>38</sup> Pagitt, *Heresiography*, 2nd edn, p. 141.

were reductive and simplistic, they constituted the means by which many people understood religious radicalism as an active, animated threat.

That heretics were *doers* must not be underestimated. They actively subverted true religion and plotted against the kingdom. The schismatics in Richard Carter's *The Schismatick Stigmatized* were defined by their actions as 'Eves-dropping-newes-carriers, Murmerers, Complainers, Railers, Reproachers, Revilers, Repining Reformers, Fault-finders, Quarrell-pickers, and Corner-creepers'.<sup>39</sup> The engravings of sectaries which decorated the frontispieces of numerous texts invariably depicted heretics as *doing* things.<sup>40</sup> In one pamphlet, 'Profane Liberty' attacked the tablets of the Law with a pick-axe, 'Envious Hypocrisie' was a scowling, black-hatted puritan and 'Jesuiticall Pollicie' leaned forward to beguile his audience as he preached.<sup>41</sup> A broadsheet showed an Antiscripturian throwing a Bible, an Anabaptist busily baptising, a Divorcer beating his wife with a cudgel and a Libertine attacking the tablets of the Law with, again, a pick-axe.<sup>42</sup> More weighty works also represented heretics as *doing*. The frontispiece added to *Heresiography*'s third edition showed, amidst other sectaries, a Seeker seeking with a lamp, an Anabaptist baptising, and a wife-beating Divorcer.<sup>43</sup> The frontispiece to Daniel Featley's *The Dippers Dipt*, whose miniature portraits *Heresiography* imitated, showed fifteen varieties of Anabaptist, each gesticulating, baptising or promiscuously canoodling.<sup>44</sup> This not only created a more accurate picture of what a sectary *did*, but created a field of action which could animate a caricature. A sectarian stereotype was otherwise as lively as the 'scarecrow' which Thomas Corns accuses it of being. Creeping, conniving and canoodling heretics, however, formed such a rich, verb-based vocabulary of heresy that adjectives, adverbs and participles were soon included.

Ranters of course ranted. When George Fox visited Coventry Gaol in 1649, he remarked that the prisoners held inside 'began to rant' before noting that 'I went away: for I perceived, they were Ranters'.<sup>45</sup> Ranters existed amidst a whole range of

<sup>39</sup> Carter, *A1'*.

<sup>40</sup> Admittedly, the rare portraits of heresiarchs *inside* some heresiologies were largely static, see Haestens, *passim*; Pagitt, *Heresiography*, 6th edn, p. 2, p. 22, p. 117, p. 152, p. 155, p. 229, p. 244; *ibid.*, '6th' edn, p. 280.

<sup>41</sup> Samuel Sheppard (or Scribimus Indocti), *The Times Displayed in Six Sestyads* (1646),  $\chi 1^r$ .

<sup>42</sup> Anon, *A Catalogue of the Severall Sects and Opinions in England and Other Nations With A Briefe Rehearsall of their False and Dangerous Tenents* (1647), single sheet.

<sup>43</sup> Pagitt, *Heresiography*, 3rd edn, *A2'*.

<sup>44</sup> Featley, *Dippers Dipt*, 1st edn, *A1'*.

<sup>45</sup> Fox, pp. 44-5.

related terms. The root-word was originally applied to merrily rowdy and belligerent individuals such as the 'ranting host of the Garter' in Shakespeare's *The Merry Wives of Windsor*.<sup>46</sup> Pertaining to the melodramatic preaching of pulpit-thumping ministers in the seventeenth century, the word was soon attached to notorious declaimers of Antinomianism, the so-called Ranters. In early 1649, Gerard Winstanley defended Diggers against accusations of 'the Ranting Practise' which consisted of indolent and self-indulgent promiscuity, gluttony and greed.<sup>47</sup> This is perhaps the first mention of Ranters proper in print.<sup>48</sup> In *Heresiography*'s fifth edition, Ranters were known for their 'ranting imprecations'.<sup>49</sup> Abiezer Coppe, one so-called Ranter, certainly ranted: he was known for 'belching forth imprecations, curses, and other such like stuffe, as is not fit to be once named amongst Christians'.<sup>50</sup> Kathryn Gucer is right to point out that 'ranting' was 'characteristic mad "talk" of...sectarians' from which even alleged Ranters sometimes tried to distance themselves.<sup>51</sup> But 'Ranter' returned as quickly as it had appeared to its original meaning of drunken, jovial, declamatory misbehaviour.<sup>52</sup>

Shakespeare used 'ranting' as an adjectival participle, but other syntactical variants existed. These included Nashe's bold adverb 'rantantingly', the verbal substantive 'ranting' and the capitalised sectarian substantive 'Rantism'.<sup>53</sup> Such flexibility exploited the near naked aptronymic content of the root-word in which a verb unfurled into a noun: here, the word continued to evolve syntactically. One author even had Ranters evolve into a different word altogether, 'Rakehels', who evidently and quite literally raised hell.<sup>54</sup> In this way, verbal and syntactical variations of a label supported that label's attribution to a sect when that sect was also

<sup>46</sup> William Shakespeare, *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, ed. H. J. Oliver (London: Routledge, 1996; first published 1602 [quarto]), II, i, l. 181.

<sup>47</sup> Gerard Winstanley, *A Vindication of Those, Whose Endeavors [sic] is only to Make the Earth a Common Treasury, Called Diggers* (1650), passim.

<sup>48</sup> Gucer, p. 75.

<sup>49</sup> Pagitt, *Heresiography*, 5th edn, p. 144 [145].

<sup>50</sup> Anon, *The Routing of the Ranters* (1650), p. 3.

<sup>51</sup> Gucer, p. 83, p. 82; cf. Anon, *Justification*, p. 17.

<sup>52</sup> See, for example, Lionel Lockier, *The Character of a Time-Serving Saint: or, The Hypocrite Anatomized, and Thoroughly Dissected* (1652), ll. 15-8, ll. 25-42, passim; Anon, *A Total Rout, or A Brief Discovery, of a Pack of Knaves and Drabs, Intituled Pimps, Panders, Hectors, Trapans, Nappers, Nobs, and Spanners* (1653), passim; cf. Aphra Behn, *The Widow Ranter or The History of Bacon in Virginia* (1690) in *ibid.*, *Oroonoko, The Rover and Other Works*, ed. Janet Todd (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1992), pp. 249-325, passim.

<sup>53</sup> Thomas Nashe, *Nashes Lenten Stuffe* (1599) in *The Workes of Thomas Nashe*, ed. Ronald B. McKerrow, 5 vols (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1966), III, p. 167 (OED Online. <<http://oed.com/cgi/entry/00197291>>); Francesco Carmeni, *Nissena, An Excellent New Romance*, anonymously translated from the Italian (1653), p. 40 (OED Online. <<http://oed.com/cgi/entry/00197297>>); Anon, *Truth Vindicated or An Answer to a Letter* (1665), p. 13 (OED Online. <<http://oed.com/cgi/entry/00197303>>).

<sup>54</sup> I. F., *A New Proclamation: or A Warning Peece Against All Blasphemers, Ranters, Quakers, and Shakers* (1653), l. 54.

associated with or characterised by corresponding adjectives or adverbs. Such labelling confirmed and strengthened hostile accusations. That the Ranter phenomenon exploited, or at least drew upon, the word's grammatical range was at least more evident than the suggestion that Ranters threatened to draw London into a quagmire of sexual anarchy. The label 'Ranter', for example, was more current in the late 1640s and early '50s than proof of Coppe's 'ranting imprecations' and it is evident that Coppe himself was overtaken by the word's popularity. Coppe was first hailed as '*the great Anabaptist from Warwick*' after the appearance of his *Fiery Flying Roll* in 1649.<sup>55</sup> This is because the earliest theological use of 'rant' dated from the 1620s and pertained to baptism. 'Rantism' meant baptism-as-sprinkling and soon extended to the verb 'to rantize' and then the verbal substantive 'rantizing'.<sup>56</sup> But Coppe is not remembered as an Anabaptist. He was labelled with the word 'Ranter' to mean a debauched, drunken blasphemer. Expressing the anxieties of the godly, this was rooted in the likes of Shakespeare's roistering publican as much as the riotous sectaries of the 1640s.

'Anabaptism' competed with 'Ranter' as one of the most linguistically dynamic aptronyms. 'Anabaptism' was derived from the Greek, βαπτισμός, baptism. The prefix ἀνά was added since men and women were baptised as true believers and were therefore *re*-baptisers had they been baptised before. They predicated baptism upon faith and not a symbolic act of church membership. As Murray Tolmie writes, 'For most Englishmen the simple act of rebaptism, not its motive, constituted the essence of the Anabaptist offence'.<sup>57</sup> We have seen that 'Anabaptist' was considered a 'simple name' or 'a curtaine', behind which 'many horrible and pernicious Tenets...lye hidden'.<sup>58</sup> These 'Tenets' included a medley of antitrinitarian, christological and soteriological errors and remind the reader that the label was indeed a 'curtaine' behind which numerous heresies could hide. Its popular use and wide attribution was therefore tantamount to the spread of those heresies which it represented. The propagation of Anabaptism, in other words, was the spread

<sup>55</sup> Anon, *A Perfect Diurnal*, no. 6, 14-21st January 1650, p. 42.

<sup>56</sup> Lancelot Andrewes, *XCVI Sermons*, 5th edn (1661), p. 394. This sermon was preached on 24th May 1607 (OED Online. <<http://oed.com/cgi/entry/00197302>>); Samuel Fisher, *Baby-Baptism Meer Babism, or, An Answer to Nobody in Five Words to Every-Body Who Finds Himself Concern'd In't* (1653), p. 5 (the OED Online cites an early use of the verb *to rantize* in 1644 but this cannot be confirmed, see <<http://oed.com/cgi/entry/00197304>>); John Spittlehouse, *The First Addresses to his Excellencie the Lord Generall* (1653), p. 6.

<sup>57</sup> Tolmie, p. 23.

<sup>58</sup> Spanheim, p. 50.



of heresy in shorthand. So it is unsurprising to find the label evolving to accompany and even to anticipate the growth of religious radicalism.

'Anabaptist' first appeared in English shortly after the sectaries themselves appeared in Germany during the 1520s. It spawned numerous variants. 'Anabaptism' appeared as a doctrinal label in English as early as 1577 but Pagitt himself, in the second edition of *Heresiography*, first used the word as a verbal substantive to refer to re-baptism as an action rather than a belief.<sup>59</sup> But 'Anabaptism' is only one variant of the widespread and anglicised Latin *anabaptista*. A simple examination of the *OED* yields 'anabaptistic', 'anabaptistical', 'anabaptistically', 'anabaptistry', 'anabaptise', and 'anabaptizing', all of which appeared between the mid-sixteenth and mid-seventeenth centuries. Thomas Nashe's use of 'anabaptisticall' is well-known in his account of Jack Wilton's presence at Münster and this word was one of the earlier variants to appear in English in 1549.<sup>60</sup> While it was claimed that much of Europe and then England were overrun by the Anabaptists, such claims corresponded to the breadth and diversity of the sectaries' verbal counterparts, the terms with which they were known. The freedom and fluidity with which such words appeared stemmed from the syntactical play which etymological naming encouraged, and one is again left with the perennial and heresiological chicken and egg: what came first, heresy or the various sectarian categories with which to describe it? Indeed, if this blurs the question of when sects emerged, it certainly blurs sectarian categories as they merge into one other to create new denominations and a broader sectarian vocabulary.

'Anabaptist' gave rise to several innovative terms. One was 'anabaptisticall', combining 'Anabaptist' and 'fantastic', using the latter term as a widely-employed sectarian epithet to suggest outrageous behaviour.<sup>61</sup> A similar word was 'Anabablers' which emphasised the notion of Anabaptists who parodied scripture by, to use Pagitt's phrase, speaking 'scoffingly at it, *Bible, Bible, Bable, Bable*'.<sup>62</sup> Another

<sup>59</sup> Heinrich Bullinger, *Fiftie Godlie and Learned Sermons, Divided into Five Decades*, trans. H. I. (1577), ¶¶iv; Pagitt, *Heresiography*, 2nd edn, p. 44; *OED Online*. <<http://oed.com/cgi/entry/00007719>>

<sup>60</sup> Thomas Nashe, *The Unfortunate Traveller* (1594) in Nashe, *Workes*, II, p. 232, pp. 232-41; *OED Online*. <<http://oed.com/cgi/entry/00007722>>

<sup>61</sup> Christopher Lawne, *The Prophane Schisme of the Brownists or Separatists* (1612), p. 76; cf. the titles of Anon, *A Discovery of the Great Fantasie, or, Phantasticall Conceitednesse* (1642); Richard Jackson, *A Suddain Essay With Sincere Desire to Vindicate Christianity, or The Common Faith, from the Superlative Heresies or Phantasticall Novelities of All Selfe-Particular Sciologists* (1655); Ranters were associated with *fantastic gestures*, see Anon, *The Ranters Creed* (1651), A1r.

<sup>62</sup> John Taylor, *A Brown Dozen of Drunkards: (Ali-ass Drink-Hards) Whipt, and Shipt to the Isle of Gulls* (1648), p. 1; Pagitt, *Heresiography*, 1st edn, p. 21.

composite label of particular interest was 'Anapaptist'.<sup>63</sup> This hybrid tag was a product of typographical error or a heresiological quip rather than a cross between an Anabaptist and a papist. It illustrates how a name was able to yoke together and evoke beliefs which, very probably, had no real basis in sectarian opinion. Both Anabaptists and papists, as I have stated in the opening chapter, held that election was dependent upon merit rather than divine will, but it is highly unlikely that this shared conviction resulted in a hybrid sect. The identification of sectaries with Roman Catholics, however, was a common accusation whose function was to combine two dirty pots to create one very black kettle.<sup>64</sup> Pagitt himself gave twenty-one points of comparison between sectaries and Roman Catholics: like many sectaries, papists lied, equivocated, frequented brothels and seduced rather than converted followers; in contrast to Roman Catholics, sectaries were painfully abstinent and austere whereas papists indulged in orgiastic feasts, had too many sacraments and holy days and idolatrously revered the Virgin Mary.<sup>65</sup> These rich doctrinal charges could be contained in the single verbal atom of a name, 'Anapaptist'. This again makes the point that the verbal constituents of heresiological nomenclature, the words themselves, sustained the traditional charges of anti-sectarian writing.

Another notably inventive verbal creation was a sect known as 'the *Coetanii*'. The context of the phrase is important. Jesuits, Pagitt suggested, boasted of visions and revelations 'not unlike the *Coetanii* the *Anabaptists*'.<sup>66</sup> This Latinism existed alongside the seventeenth-century word 'coetaneous' which shared the same root and meant 'contemporary, originating at the same time as or of the same age'.<sup>67</sup> Thus the meaning of the phrase was that Jesuits and Anabaptists emerged at the same time. But placed in apposition with Anabaptists, it is unclear whether the 'Coetanii' were a synonym for or a type or branch of Anabaptists. Pagitt's rejection of 'coetaneous', however, for a very Latin-looking *and* capitalised noun transmitted further meaning. 'Coetanii' appears to be the corrupted, plural present participle of *coeo*, *coentes*, meaning 'coming together, uniting, even in the form of marriage and sexual union'. This is pushed towards a tribal 'inflection', analogous to German *Germanii* or

<sup>63</sup> Pagitt, *Heresiography*, 2nd edn, p. 93; Edwards, *Gangraena*, I, p. 103.

<sup>64</sup> Robin Clifton, 'The Popular Fear of Catholics During the English Revolution', *P&P*, 52 (1971), 23-55, pp. 33-4; *ibid.*, 'Fear of Popery', p. 161.

<sup>65</sup> Pagitt, *Heresiography*, 2nd edn, pp. 152-154.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, 1st edn, p. 126.

<sup>67</sup> *OED Online*. <<http://oed.com/cgi/entry/00043231>>

Phoenician *Poenii*. Thus a word was created which endowed Anabaptists with not only a point of origin shared with Jesuits (anapaptistical indeed), but an organisational coherence and an edge of polygamous promiscuity. 'Coetanii' was thus invested with the meanings transmitted through its Latin derivation as well as its meaning in English. It illustrates how Pagitt's nomenclature manipulated grammatical forms in order to mesh, enrich and develop the associational potency of its component words.

More crucially, this shows how sectarian labels claimed aptronymic status by attributing to the sectaries they described the qualities they represented. The various inflected forms which were included within this process not only animated the 'scarecrow' stereotypes which they created but corroborated each others' claims. In this way, heresiology was able to maintain its caricaturing accusations through its own radicalising discourse. It is already evident that nonce-words, such as 'anabaptastically' and 'Coetanii', played very important roles in this process. It is therefore necessary to immediately examine the role of neologisms in constructing a nomenclature in which heresy existed more distinctly and dangerously than in the reality which that nomenclature claimed to describe.

### Neologising Heresy: Accusations of Novelty

Heresiological nomenclature employed so many foreign words, composite nouns and coinages that it may be called a nonce-language, and Pagitt its leading nomothete, name-giver, or what Milton called a 'mintmaister of language'.<sup>68</sup> It is important to remember that Pagitt's multilingualism (his knowledge of up to sixteen languages) inclined him towards a distinctly exotic use of language and that, as the author of not only a weighty treatise against popery, but the most prolix heresy-list of the period, he not only wrote as a heavyweight heresiologist but as a robust and inventive pamphlet-polemicist. Vigorous, neologising English (like that of John Taylor) was characteristic of his work. The heresiological momentum to neologise was rooted in the need to describe heresy to powerful polemical effect. Milton's coinage of the word 'inquisiturient' to describe bishops, for example, created a richly evocative image within a single word which was conspicuously hostile.<sup>69</sup> David Loewenstein calls it 'a ridiculous but caustic word suggesting both [bishops']

<sup>68</sup> *CPWJM*, I, p. 686.

perverse inheritance from the Inquisition and their pruriency'.<sup>70</sup> Other examples of such words from the period were 'Pluritan' to describe a sanctimonious minister who held several benefices and 'paltripolitan' to describe a bishop with diocesan jurisdiction, otherwise known as a 'metropolitan', as paltry and, by extension, lacking in spiritual value.<sup>71</sup> John Taylor coined the adjectival participle 'amsterdamnified' which combined Amsterdam's status as, in the words one writer, 'the patterne of all Sects' and the deserved punishment of sectaries, damnation.<sup>72</sup>

Heresiological neologisms operated with specifically two functions: firstly, they contributed to an already emergent semantic field of heresiological expression; secondly, they responded to and fuelled accusations of sectarian novelty by being new themselves. Bishops existed before Milton called them 'inquisiturient', for example, but his description of them as such created a particular bishoply image with an exaggerated sense of inquisitorial severity and salacious curiosity. In so far as religious opponents could be constructed through language, moreover, many were aware, as one Presbyterian preacher put it, that '[t]he greatest *heresies* that ever troubled the Church of Christ, have come out of the wombe of new phrases and expressions'.<sup>73</sup> Unlike neologising heresiarchs who often sought to invent new words for innovative theologies, heresiologists coined words in order to claim that their opponents were pathetically ephemeral since their opinions were repulsively and nonsensically novel. The language which was used to describe such heresies was correspondingly new.

Accusations of novelty were commonplace in anti-sectarian writing. They built upon Augustine's definition of a heretic as one who, according to one seventeenth-century translation, '*for some temporall benefit, and chiefly for glory and his own preferment, either broacheth or followeth false and new Opinions*'.<sup>74</sup> This not only accused the heretic of greed and ambition, but suggested that his beliefs were meaninglessly novel. The same thinking informed Roman Catholic suggestions that, in

<sup>69</sup> Ibid., II, p. 507.

<sup>70</sup> David Loewenstein, *Milton and the Drama of History: Historical Vision, Iconoclasm, and the Literary Imagination* (Cambridge: CUP, 1990), p. 38. 'Anapapist' and 'anabaptasticall' are similar composite neologisms.

<sup>71</sup> M. Van Beek, *An Enquiry into Puritan Vocabulary* (Groningen: Wolters-Noordhoff, 1969), pp. 7-8, p. 110.

<sup>72</sup> Taylor, *Enemies*, p. 6; Sclater, p. 28.

<sup>73</sup> Matthew Newcomen, *The Duty of Such as Would Walke Worthy of the Gospel: To Endeavour Union, not Division nor Toleration* (1646), pp. 23-4.

<sup>74</sup> Augustine, *The Profit of Believing* (1651), pp. 1-2.

the words of Pagitt, 'there was no such thing in the world as a Protestant, before Luther'.<sup>75</sup> Unsurprisingly, the accusation was hurled back at Roman Catholics. Protestants developed a profound opposition to all forms of 'novelty' and 'invention', favouring apostolic precedent instead.<sup>76</sup> An aversion to unfounded traditions and beliefs ensured that sectaries were regularly condemned as agents of unwanted innovations. Pagitt, for example, devoted an entire section of *Heresiography* to describing why Brownists were 'Innovators', emphasising this by pointing out that they were called 'Novatores' in Latin. They 'can abide no old things heretofore used in Gods Church', Pagitt wrote, such as fonts, bells, set prayers, marriage, burial and even the churches themselves.<sup>77</sup> William Lee described the sectaries' 'Novelties, or private opinions' and pointed out that when Dorothy Traske died 'there was an end to her sect, in less than half a generation'.<sup>78</sup> Newness implied impermanence. A sectarian aberration was as inconsequential as it was monstrous.

Many heresiological neologisms expressed this widespread opposition to novelty. A nonce-word without any legitimising precedence or apparent permanence aptly described a correspondingly new sect. Samuel Morland, for example, suggested that when applied to a sect a nonce-word made 'the world believe, that their Religion was but a novelty, or a thing of yesterday'.<sup>79</sup> Heresiological nonce-words, moreover, were not the infiltration of popular culture into bookish and scholarly vocabularies; rather, they were the 'hard words' and 'inkhorn terms' of heresiology as a technical discipline. In this capacity, sectarian labels reflected, as so many heresy-hunters would have had their readers believe, the rapid growth of religious radicalism. In the midst of *Heresiography*, for example, Pagitt revealed that '[t]hese appellations I heard not of when I began to write the treatise'.<sup>80</sup> Sectarian labels accumulated as the radical tide surged; the increasing threat of the sects required an increasing vocabulary with which to describe and attack them. Heresiology coined words in order to do so. Pagitt was the most extravagant neologiser amongst those studied here and figure 4 (overleaf) illustrates the surprising variety of his coinages

Pagitt's neologisms deserve comment for several reasons (continued, p. 163).

<sup>75</sup> Pagitt, *Christianographie*, 1st edn, I, A3<sup>r-v</sup>.

<sup>76</sup> Bozeman, *Ancient Lives*, pp. 51-80, pp. 136-9.

<sup>77</sup> Pagitt, *Heresiography*, 1st edn, p. 47.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid., 6th edn, p. 191, p. 197.

<sup>79</sup> Samuel Morland, *The History of the Evangelical Churches of the Valleys of Piemont* (1658), p. 12.

<sup>80</sup> Pagitt, *Heresiography*, 1st edn, p. 66.



Figure 4. Neologising Heresy

Religious Terminology	Sectarian Terminology	Adjectives (incl. adj. participles)	Verbs	Adverbs	Miscellaneous
Abuna	Anabaptism	Acherontical	Claustered	Groundlessly	Antiquærer
Ave Bell	Antinomians	Antiquitated	Codeified	Parasitically	Brokerage
Cathedra	Anti-	Copartning	Criminate	Unspeakable	Christiano-
Digamy	sabbatarians	Devillified	Incathedrated		graphie
Ethiopian	Augustinians	Egyptiack	Musse		Circumport-
High-	Beliamite*	Expurged	Straitned		ation
Priestesse	Chilianisme	Fundatory	Undreamed		Half-time
Personated	Cophites	Incapacious			Heresio-
Prets	Copt	Renegado			graphy
Protamist	Copties	Unexempted			Inexistence
Relique	Dioscorian*				Rials
	Ebionite*				Slavon
	Expecters				
	Familisticke				
	Habassin*				
	(C)Hamite				
	Hutite				
	Mahometants				
	Mengrelian*				
	Menonists				
	Morduit*				
	Palestinian*				
	Photinian*				
	Sabbatarians				
	Separatists				
	Servetians				
	Socinanisme				
	Socinians				
	Socinisme				
	Soule-sleepers*				

**Note:**

- Words appear in their original forms, but are capitalised for the sake of consistency; asterisked words (\*) either pre-date the *OED*'s citation of them or else do not appear in the *OED* at all.
- The neologisms discussed have been compiled by using the *OED Online*. Space does not permit a discussion of each word and the reader is invited to consult the *OED Online* for further information. One is reminded, however, of the traditional shortcomings of such a source because lexicographers typically post-date the first appearances of new words, copy one another and restrict themselves to written language. Although the early modern period is covered comparatively well by the *OED*, it has been estimated that only 60% of entries are reliable since earlier sources may have been neglected or editors may have considered some words simply too peculiar or rare to include (Jürgen Schäfer, *Documentation in the O.E.D.: Shakespeare and Nashe as Text Cases* [Oxford: Clarendon, 1980], p. 65, pp. 68-9, p. 4, p. 15). More specifically, one must be cautious about the number Pagitt's coinages because neologisms in any one source can be due to undue attention at the expense of other authors (Schäfer, p. 6). My use of the *OED* is therefore self-consciously cautious but, short of reading *everything* before and during the period, necessary.
- The *OED* uses a variety editions of *Christianographie* and *Heresiography* and back-dates the words which they contain to 1635 and 1645 respectively. For this reason, I have omitted those neologisms which appear in only those editions to which William Lee conspicuously contributed material. I have also omitted words which were probably typographical errors (Anapaptist), blatant Latinisms (Liberi, Silentes) and congregational labels, shamelessly derived from heresiarch's names (Ainsworthian, Beukeldian).

Firstly, the *OED* registers almost seventy of them. The likes of Edwards, Baillie and Featley coined words, it seems, comparatively very rarely. Secondly, they express the breadth of heresiological discourse and its religious nature: Pagitt coined theological terms (Personated, Inexistence), terms recalling *Christianographie's* comparative study of religions (Abuna, Prets), colourful vitriol (Acheronticall, Devillified, Parasitically) and of course sectarian labels (Antinomians, Menonists, Socinians). Thirdly, it is unsurprising to find that many of Pagitt's neologisms were rarely entirely new words (i.e. Beliamite, *Christianographie*, *Heresiography*) but were often derived from existing words in either English or other languages (Anabaptism, Prets). Many were simply old words endowed with new meanings (Augustinians, Expecters, Obedience, Sabbatarians) or existing words used in new grammatical ways (i.e. a noun turned into an adjective, Renegado; or an adjective turned into an adverb, Unspeakable). Pagitt's neologisms indicate an impressive grammatical breadth and versatility. They encompassed a large number of substantives as well as adjectives, adverbs and verbs. So in describing a novel phenomenon in a correspondingly new terminology, heresiology created a veritable 'language' or, at least, a wide variety of grammatical forms with which to describe it. Heresy could exist far more vividly in this 'language' than in Lombard Street, in London, or in the New Prison, Maiden Lane.

These neologisms defined the field of expertise with which heresiology was concerned. This field therefore expanded as the number of words with which to describe it grew. This growth had no direct correspondence to the increasing numbers of sectaries corner-creeping on Lombard Street, but expressed the heresiological urge to describe ever more precisely the threat of religious radicalism. Christopher Marsh, for example, suggests that during the 1630s those who were prosecuted for Familism held 'familistic opinions' but were not members 'of the Family of Love'.<sup>81</sup> Interestingly, Pagitt himself seems to have coined the adjective '*Familisticke*'.<sup>82</sup> This is not to say that familistic opinions were not held before Pagitt had extrapolated the adjective out of 'Familist', but it does suggest that Pagitt's coinage invented the field of analysis which could broaden a discussion of Familists into one concerning 'familisticke' ideas. Featley coined 'commentiter' (to mean a devisor of lies) and

<sup>81</sup> Marsh, *Family of Love*, p. 244.

<sup>82</sup> Pagitt, *Heresiography*, 3rd edn, p. 90; *OED Online*. <<http://dictionary.oed.com/cgi/entry/00082058>>

seems to have introduced 'Manicheisme' into the English vernacular.<sup>83</sup> In 1643, Richard Overton raised the spectre of mortalism in *Mans Mortallitie* but, in 1645, Pagitt was still referring to the adherents of this belief as 'Soule-sleepers'.<sup>84</sup> 'Mortalism' was first used, according to the *OED*, by Edwards in 1646.<sup>85</sup> 'Mortallists' followed in 1647, purportedly coined by Robert Baillie.<sup>86</sup> Baillie is also acknowledged as coining numerous other sectarian labels and their derivatives: 'Se-baptisme', 'Unconformist', 'Separisticke', 'Jesuiticke', 'Independentisme' and 'Hemerobaptization'. Though Rutherford coined few words of immediate significance, his novel use of the adjectival participles, 'self-destroying' and especially 'self-lost', recall Milton's Satan in *Paradise Lost*.<sup>87</sup> While Baillie's coinages provided more names by which heresy could be known, Rutherford certainly developed a vocabulary of reflexive damnation. These neologisms do not suggest that heresy and error were conjured out of their sounds or very invention, but illustrate that the amorphous, often underground and largely anonymous sectarian milieu was represented with a verbal clarity that had the effect of emphasising it as a terrifying threat. If words described the world, these neologisms described a new and increasingly heretical one.

Neologisms betrayed the nature of not only the context but the conflict in which they were employed. They corroborated claims of sectarian novelty by forming a semantic field which, full of fustian adaptations of existing words and polemical bombast, anticipated the heresy it described by virtue of permitting its description on, or rather *in*, its own terms. The world was therefore linguistically re-represented as a sect-infested battleground on which the godly waged war against the myriad ungodly. Described by nonce-words, the ungodly appeared to be hideous aberrations whose sudden and spectacular generation concealed the inevitability of their own downfall: meaningless novelty.

<sup>83</sup> Featley, *Dippers Dipt*, 1st edn, p. 227; *OED Online*. <<http://oed.com/cgi/entry/00044939>>; cf. *ibid.*, *Second Parallel*, p. 2. This precedes the *OED*'s citation of the word in this text, see *OED Online*. <<http://oed.com/cgi/entry/00139911>>

<sup>84</sup> Pagitt, *Heresiography*, 2nd edn, p. 139.

<sup>85</sup> Edwards, *Gangraena*, I, p. 82. The *OED*'s cited reference is incorrect, see *OED Online*. <<http://oed.com/cgi/entry/00151751>>

<sup>86</sup> Baillie, *Anabaptisme*, p. 99; *OED Online*. <<http://dictionary.oed.com/cgi/entry/00151752>>

<sup>87</sup> Samuel Rutherford, *The Tryal & Triumph of Faith: or, An Exposition of the History of Christs Dispossession of the Daughter of the Woman of Canaan* (1645), p. 127; *OED Online*. <<http://dictionary.oed.com/cgi/entry/00218925/00218925se1>>; Rutherford, *Tryal*, p. 108; *OED Online*. <<http://dictionary.oed.com/cgi/entry/00219061>>; Milton, *Paradise Lost*, vii, l. 154.

### Historicising Heresy: Back to the Word

In contrast to accusations of novelty and linguistic innovation, heresiology also historicised or retrogressed heresy. Medieval clerics often compared a new heresy with an old one since it enabled them to avoid all the work of writing a new refutation.<sup>88</sup> Though historians have recently suggested that dissenting communities and families of 'heretics' can be traced backwards over the course of several generations, polemics in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries constructed impressive genealogies which retrogressed heresies themselves.<sup>89</sup> The purpose of identifying contemporary heresies with old ones in the seventeenth century was often to conflate biblical, early church and early modern beliefs in order to exaggerate the horrifying variety of religious radicalism. Pagitt told his readers, in the first edition of *Heresiography*, that 'Epiphanius writeth of the heresies of his time' so that the heresies of Pagitt's own period seemed but a small leap away from those faced by the early Church.<sup>90</sup> Somewhat surprisingly, however, the second edition of *Heresiography* no longer read 'his time', but 'this time'.<sup>91</sup> Pagitt collided the patristic past with the present moment. In other words, the use of past heresies allowed heresiologists to describe more effectively the heresies of the present.

Such retrogression operated by lifting particularly horrifying heresies from biblical and patristic texts. In so far as such heresies were textually-derived and carried with them implicit and textually-dependent associations, they remained aptronymic because they were selected according to suitability or *aptness*. One tract, for example, advertised itself as *A Parallel Betwixt The Ancient and Modern Fanaticks* and even based its comparisons upon the names of those it considered to be 'fanaticks': Thomas Cromwell looked forward to Oliver Cromwell, Hugh Latimer to Hugh Peters and William Tyndale to William Prynne.<sup>92</sup> As 'essential nominations', sectarian labels often unfurled into the regressed heresies which they were accused of

<sup>88</sup> Moore, *Dissent*, pp. 244-6.

<sup>89</sup> Margaret Spufford, 'The Importance of Religion in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', in *ibid.*, ed., pp. 1-102, pp. 23-35; Nesta Evans, 'The Descent of Dissenters in the Chiltern Hundreds', in Spufford, ed., pp. 288-308, *passim*; see Anon, *The Original & Sprynge of All Sectes & Orders by Whome, What or Wh[er]e They Beganne* (1537); John Barthlet, *The Pedegrewe of Heretiques* (1566); Poole, *Radical Religion*, pp. 124-46.

<sup>90</sup> Pagitt, *Heresiography*, 1st edn, B2v.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, 2nd edn, D2v, my emphasis.

<sup>92</sup> Anon, *Semper Idem, or, A Parallel Betwixt the Ancient and Modern Fanaticks* (1661) in the Harley Collection, *The Harleian Miscellany*, 2nd edn, 8 vols (1744-53), VII, pp. 376-85, p. 383-4.

being: as the author of one pamphlet remembered Ecclesiastes 1:9, 'for that which hath been, shall bee, and there is no new thing under the Sun'.<sup>93</sup>

Ann Hughes rightly observes that 'where religious truths are embodied in sacred texts as is pre-eminently the case in committed Protestantism, books are inevitably more than commodities or academic resources'.<sup>94</sup> Thus much heresy was textually, if not biblically, derived and to acknowledge the textual status of heresy is to respond to the bookish culture of Protestantism rather than to draw upon more recent critical approaches concerning, for example, 'The Historicity of Texts and Textuality of History'.<sup>95</sup> Indeed, many of the Protestant godly sought to recapture the purity and perspective of biblical and earliest Christianity during the early modern period and these ambitions were based upon adhering to biblical and patristic precedent.<sup>96</sup> Such was this identification with the past (and its heresies) that Pagitt considered that he 'might set down the heretickes that sprang up in the most pure ages of the Church, viz. In the first 400. yeares after Christ, collected by St. A[u]gustine out of *Eusebius* and *Epiphanius*'.<sup>97</sup> He quickly began to name names: Brownists were likened to fourth-century Donatists as 'Donatisticall';<sup>98</sup> Familists were identified with the fourth-century bishop, Priscillian;<sup>99</sup> Antitrinitarians were 'new Arrians';<sup>100</sup> Traskites were compared to Ebionites.<sup>101</sup> With deliberate historical conflation, millenarianism was either 'the ancient Error of *Cerinthus* who...lived in the time of *Domitian* the Emperour, about the yeare of our Lord, 96' or was else held by 'the *Chiliasts*, condemned above 1000 years ago'.<sup>102</sup> William Lee blamed 'Pythagoras's Metempsychosis' for the appearance of Münster's Anabaptists in England as Fifth Monarchists.<sup>103</sup> Without explaining their return, another writer wished 'that these Heretickes survived only in Paper, but alas they are all lived over againe'.<sup>104</sup> Donatists, Ebionites and Chiliasts did not really threaten England, but it was certainly paper out of which their presence threatened the country.

<sup>93</sup> Anon, *Sectary Dissected*, p. 33.

<sup>94</sup> Ann Hughes, 'The Meanings of Religious Polemic', in Bremer, ed., pp. 201-29, p. 229.

<sup>95</sup> Louis Montrose, 'Renaissance Literary Studies and the Subject of History', *ELR*, 16 (1986), 5-12, p. 8.

<sup>96</sup> Bozemann, *Ancient Lives*, pp. 13-50, passim.

<sup>97</sup> Pagitt, *Wolfe*, p. 5.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 6; *ibid.*, *Heresiography*, 1st edn, A2<sup>r</sup>, pp. 46-7.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, *Heresiography*, 1st edn, p. 82.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 118.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, 6th edn, p. 178.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, 1st edn, p. 120; *ibid.*, p. 20.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, '6th' edn, p. 292.

<sup>104</sup> Braithwaite, *Mustur* [sic] *Roh*, p. 93.



Pagitt's textualising heresiological method certainly located heresy in the 'Paper foundation' of radical pamphlet literature and biblical and Reformed tradition.<sup>105</sup> He lamented that '[a] volume will hardly contain the hurt that these Sectaries have...done to this poore Church', but it was often in a 'volume' that one would find them.<sup>106</sup> Divorcers, for example, were extrapolated out of Milton's lone voice in *The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce* and Soul-sleepers were an 'old and despicable Heresie' which Pagitt acknowledged as revived in only a single pamphlet, Richard Overton's *Mans Mortallitie*.<sup>107</sup> Elsewhere, Pagitt was keen to cite a veritable bibliography of works against Brownists.<sup>108</sup> Heresy-hunters had no need to look for heresy in what Christopher Hill calls 'the dark corners of the land'; they could simply pick up a book about it.<sup>109</sup> This use of what one critic calls 'background books' created cognitive models which turned what was perceived outside a book into what had been perused inside it. When Marco Polo first saw a rhinoceros, for example, he thought it was a unicorn.<sup>110</sup> Likewise, Antitrinitarians were identified as Arians by men who were trying to conceptualise and convey a sect which they believed had been encountered in the past.

The Bible was the most influential background book out of which conceptual models were constructed. The Old Testament is rich with idolatrous tribes and the New Testament contains Paul's admonitions against heresy. Thomas Edwards, for example, corresponded Papists, Socinians and Anabaptists to the 'grosse Idolaters', 'Apostates' and 'false Prophets' of biblical times.<sup>111</sup> One pamphleteer identified Quakers with Ranters and compared both, in turn, to the 'people deluded' who fell victim to the seducing teachers derided by Paul.<sup>112</sup> John Vicars systematically related sectaries to biblical types, verses, situations and descriptions in an aptly-subtitled broadsheet, *A Scripture Looking-Glasse, Most Exactly Characterizing All Sorts of Schismatics*.<sup>113</sup>

<sup>105</sup> Pagitt, *Heresiography*, '6th' edn, p. 224 [284].

<sup>106</sup> Ibid., 1st edn, A2r.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid., 2nd edn, p. 139.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid., 1st edn, p. 67.

<sup>109</sup> Hill, *Upside Down*, p. 73.

<sup>110</sup> Eco, *Serendipities*, pp. 71-2, p. 89, p. 91, p. 97.

<sup>111</sup> Edwards, *Casting Down*, pp. 185-6.

<sup>112</sup> Anon, *The Quakers Fiery Beacon: or, The Shaking-Ranters Ghost* (1655), p. 5.

<sup>113</sup> John Vicars, *Speculum Scripturale Schismaticorum: or, A Scripture Looking-Glasse, Most Exactly Characterizing All Sorts of Schismatics* (n.d.), passim.

Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century editions of patristic heresiologies also provided a rich source of sects with which heresiologists could build their evocative sectarian terminologies. Johannes Pontanus' commentary upon and enlargement of St Augustine's *De Haeresibus* listed over sixty sects from *Anabaptistae* to *Zwingliani*. Pagitt certainly borrowed 'Monasterienses' from this text.<sup>114</sup> This term signified an Anabaptist from Münster which, in Latin, was known as Monaster. Pagitt's other Anabaptists were drawn from Heinrich Bullinger and Johann-Heinrich Alsted. With names such as 'Silentes', 'Pueris Similes', 'Deo Relicti' and 'Semper Orantes', some of them possessed a conspicuously aptonymic quality by using descriptive Latin phrases as English substantives.<sup>115</sup> Labels drawn from biblical, patristic and continental texts produced a richly associational nomenclature which extended into the past in order to name the present, thus enabling and validating simultaneous claims that contemporary heresies were not only historically notorious, but alive and dangerous. Two examples from *Heresiography* illustrate the degree to which the textualised associations of biblical and patristic sects characterised and even created contemporary ones.

*Heresiography*'s alliterating 'ignorant idols, *noddy* Nabalites, *dogged* Doegs, *fainfaced* Pharisees, *shamelesse* Shimeites [and] malicious Machiavilians' were drawn from a hostile account of Brownism in Holland, *The Profane Schisme of the Brownists or Separatists* (1612). Pagitt relished this 'alphabet of slander' which was purportedly hurled by one so-called Brownist at members of a rival congregation.<sup>116</sup> Though Pagitt was therefore not the inventor of these labels, he cited them and even adapted them. They provide not only an insight into polemical name-calling, but an example of how sectarian terminology was a flexible linguistic system in which verbal order existed between words in the form of alliteration and inflection as well as taxonomic grouping. Not only did these alliterating adjectives ignite the reader's imagination, but the labels were 'inflected' as 'tribal' denominations by adding a sectarian suffix, *-ites*. This linguistic versatility concealed a rich associational content.

A neologism, 'Nabalite', was derived from the Hebrew proper name, Nabal, of I Samuel 25:3. Nabal was the senior shepherd in Maon. He grazed his sheep near Carmel and his wife later married David (I Samuel 25:1-42). He was 'churlish and evil

<sup>114</sup> Pagitt, *Heresiography*, 1st edn, pp. 35-4 [34-5]; Pontanus, B1r.

<sup>115</sup> Pagitt, *Heresiography*, 1st edn pp. 32-35 [34]; see Heinrich Bullinger, *Adversus Anabaptistas* (Tigur, 1560), fol. 21r, fols 32r-3v, fol. 37r; Johann-Heinrich Alsted, *Encyclopædia* (Herborne, 1630), p. 1998.

in his doings'. His name suggests how heresiology exploited meanings which existed *within* a name. He was not only named Nabal, but 'even Nabal: for as his name *is*, so *is* he; Nabal *is* his name, and folly *is* with him' (I Samuel 25:3 and 25). Indeed, 'folly *is* with' Nabal since his name itself meant 'foolish' with the additional meaning, in the Hebrew of Samuel 25:25, of 'impious, abandoned, wicked'.<sup>117</sup> Indeed, he was a drunkard who finally drank himself to death (I Samuel 25:36-7). In other words, Nabal was as Nabal did. Textual and etymological associations were strong enough to hold aptronymic strength.

The other names in this 'alphabet of slander' also relied upon biblical significances. Doeg was the name of Saul's bloodthirsty Edomite servant and senior herdsman who was responsible for the massacre at Nob where he killed eighty-five priests and innumerable men, women and children (I Samuel 21:7; 22:18-9). Pagitt's Shimeites emphasised the potency of names since the term cited in *The Profane Schisme of the Brownists or Separatists* was in fact 'Shemeites'.<sup>118</sup> This name was probably derived from Shem, one of Noah's sons, and it lacked a specifically defining narrative or significance.<sup>119</sup> Pagitt evidently transformed the name into 'Shimeites', whose root was far more appropriate for a hostile opponent. Shimei was a Benjamite from Bahurim who cursed David. Solomon had him murdered when he evaded the house-arrest under which he had been placed in Jerusalem (I Kings 2:8-9; 36-46). Here, Pagitt purposefully altered a label for the sake of polemical claim and his action emphasises the degree to which names themselves transmitted argumentative vigour. Not all the names in the Brownists' 'alphabet of slander', however, were biblical derivations. 'Machiavilians' referred to Niccolò Machiavelli, the Florentine statesman and political theorist (1469-1527). His name was an adjectival byword for amoral politicking as early as the 1570s.<sup>120</sup> According to one historian, Machiavelli's name was 'directly political', 'in contrast to the meaning of "religious" or "righteous"' and invariably identified with Jesuit intrigue.<sup>121</sup> According to another historian, Machiavelli's name was associated with 'nothing less than the negation of all moral

<sup>116</sup> Pagitt, *Heresiography*, 1st edn, p. 49; Lawne, pp. 76-7.

<sup>117</sup> Reuben Alcalay, *The Complete English-Hebrew Dictionary*, 2 vols (New York: Chemed Books, 1994), II, 2423.

<sup>118</sup> Lawne, p. 77.

<sup>119</sup> Genesis 5:32; 9:27; 10:21, 31.

<sup>120</sup> OED Online. <<http://dictionary.oed.com/cgi/entry/00137756>>

<sup>121</sup> Felix Raab, *The English Face of Machiavelli: A Changing Interpretation 1500-1700* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1964), p. 109, p. 238.

principles, religious unbelief, and atheism'.<sup>122</sup> Both Strafford and Laud were labelled Machiavellians in the early 1640s and John Goodwin, the Independent, was labelled as such by at least one Presbyterian opponent later in the decade.<sup>123</sup>

The effect of these names was to eradicate the historical territories which gave their inhabitants meaning. Jewish pharisees were thrown together with popish Machiavellians. The extrapolation of sects out of biblical (and notorious) names was an act of fabrication since the names were not even those of sects, let alone contemporary separatist congregations. Though the names were not Pagitt's own, they appeared within his discussion of Brownists and, as such, created the impression that they were Brownist derivatives. Indeed, that these labels were presented as arising from so-called Brownists labelling *each other* gave them even more credibility.

Pagitt's account of Adamites illustrates his use of patristic sources and the apparent transformation of dubious reports and very tall stories into allegedly documented sectarianism. Adamites were first recorded by Epiphanius in the fourth century. Though Adam was certainly no heresiarch, their heresy for Epiphanius was to imitate Adam's nudity because they claimed his prelapsarian innocence for themselves. Epiphanius based his account of this heresy upon hearsay: 'I have heard it reported by many [but] I have not found it in any treatise, and have certainly not met any such people'.<sup>124</sup> This absence of evidence, however, was not considered evidence of absence and others borrowed the name for their own heresy-lists. In the fifteenth century, the term was widely used on the continent during the Taborite rebellion when it was applied to numerous radical sects and, in the seventeenth century, it was something of a favourite in England amongst indignant clergy and Civil War propagandists. 'Adamite' was easily identifiable with those English radicals who were accused of considering themselves immune to sin. Only very recent research, however, specifically examines their alleged presence in seventeenth-century England.<sup>125</sup>

<sup>122</sup> George T. Buckley, *Atheism in the English Renaissance* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1932), p. 42.

<sup>123</sup> Raab, p. 167; Josiah Ricraft, *A Nosegay of Rank-Smelling Flowers Such as Grow in M<sup>r</sup>. John Goodwins Garden* (1646), p. 1, p. 6.

<sup>124</sup> Epiphanius, *Panarion*, II, p. 68.

<sup>125</sup> Cressy, *Travesties*, pp. 251-80; Poole, *Radical Religion*, pp. 147-62; cf. Samoth Yarb (anagram of Thomas Bray), *A New Sect of Religion Descryed, Called Adamites* (1641); Obadiah Couchman, *The Adamites Sermon Containing their Manner of Preaching, Expounding, and Prophesying, as It Was Delivered in Marie-Bone Park* (1641); Anon, *A Nest of Serpents Discovered. or; A Knot of Old Heretiques Revived, Called the Adamites* (1641). Adamites were also stock-members of heresy-lists.

Pagitt described three varieties of 'Adamite': a kind or *species* of Anabaptist who 'think[s] cloaths to be cursed', a *genus* of heretic again related to Anabaptists, and a Bohemian kind.<sup>126</sup> Though the two former 'Adamites' repeated commonplace accusations of nudity, evidence suggests that Bohemian Adamites existed. In 1421, fifty of some three hundred members of a sect who considered themselves free to behave like Adam in Paradise were burned in the Bohemian town of Tabor. Pagitt certainly read about this in Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini's fifteenth-century *Historia Bohemica*.<sup>127</sup> Other, later Bohemian Adamites were not even Adamites because they were named after Adam Pastor, an Antitrinitarian and proponent of adult baptism.<sup>128</sup> Pagitt's Bohemian Adamites, also described by Piccolomini, were led by '[a] certain *Piccard*' who taught his followers nudity and promiscuity and demanded that they called him Adam. The name Piccard is intriguing. Picardy, an area in northern France, was an alleged centre of earlier radical activity from which Piccard had travelled to Bohemia.<sup>129</sup> 'Picard' may have, over time, transformed into the name by which those proponents of apocalyptic and mystical piety were known, the Beghards.<sup>130</sup> Calvin even called another group in Bohemia *Picardi*, though the group in question had submitted to the Reformed Synod of Cianforan in 1532.<sup>131</sup> We are suddenly no longer discussing Adamites. This is because historians are right to suggest that the word 'Adamite' was simply a name used to describe what a medieval chronicler or a Civil War propagandist considered to be a promiscuous nudist when neither promiscuity, nudism or 'Adamites' were really involved.<sup>132</sup> In England, Adamites left neither personal diaries nor evidence of their ecclesiastical or parliamentary prosecution. The accumulated heritage of a term allowed Pagitt to enumerate three varieties of Adamite in an age when none of them really existed.

Names of sects were often drawn from patristic and biblical sources which not only encouraged but corroborated the identification of contemporary radicalism with biblical and early Christian heresy. Textually-derived associations turned borrowed

<sup>126</sup> Pagitt, *Heresiography*, 1st edn, p. 33, p. 85, pp. 86-7.

<sup>127</sup> George Huntston Williams, *The Radical Reformation*, 3rd edn (Michigan: Edwards Brothers, 1992; first published 1962), p. 318; Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, *Historia Bohemica* (Amberg, 1592; first published 1451), pp. 94-8.

<sup>128</sup> Williams, pp. 739-42; Albert Henry Newman, 'Adam Pastor, Antitrinitarian Antipaedobaptist', *American Society for Church History*, 2nd series, 5 (1914), 75-99, *passim*.

<sup>129</sup> Piccolomini, p. 96.

<sup>130</sup> Lerner, pp. 39-40, pp. 121-3; Friedman, *Miracles*, p. 95; Williams, p. 318.

<sup>131</sup> Williams, p. 1068, p. 1006.

<sup>132</sup> Lerner, p. 25; Cressy, *Travesties*, pp. 278-80.



names into 'essential nominations' which were able to unfold aptronymically in order to retrogress and colour heresies of the present by recalling heresies of the past. But more than this, sectarian labels accumulated meanings and associations which created a fictitious image of heresy with little basis in fact and only dubious textual justification. Heresiologists were often guilty of Philip Sidney's criticism of early historians who authorised themselves '(for the most part) upon other histories [and] whose greatest authorities are built upon the notable foundations of hearsay'.<sup>133</sup> It is no understatement to suggest that much of the heresiological 'history' written was what modernity would describe as fiction and much of its heresy fabrication.

### Intensifying Heresy: Taxonomy and Exaggeration

In the preceding example, 'Adamite' doubled-up as a *species* and a *genus*, thereby multiplying its presence within *Heresiography's* taxonomic representation of heresy. Nomenclature is of course inextricably linked to taxonomy and noddly Nabalites, dogged Doege and shamelesse Shimeites are another example of taxonomy generating apparent *species* of separatist (in this case, *species* of Brownist). It is therefore necessary to describe in more detail how taxonomy governed and controlled the operation and presentation of heresiological nomenclature. Though the polemical operation of taxonomy was described in Chapter Three and its intellectual roots and context in the previous chapter, it remains to explain its role in exaggerating and even fabricating religious radicalism by manipulating and arranging sectarian labels. It did so by not only exploding the number of sectarian denominations enumerated, but by promoting a sect's similarity to other sects. This attributed more reality to a given sect by identifying it with and within a more tangible and conceivable context. In this way, dubious or fantastic sects, whose qualities and characteristics were made manifest in their very names, received corroboration by being presented in the form of taxonomic categories. Such strategies operated in several heresy-lists and collections of heresies.

The denominational explosion of sects was evident in numerous heresy-lists which combined the fantastic or the fallacious alongside what could be considered the factual. Before examining an example from *Heresiography*, two instances drawn from other heresy-lists suggest, if not its subtlety, the widespread nature of this practice. In

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<sup>133</sup> Sidney, p. 105.

*Antinomianisme Anatomized* (1643), John Sedgewick considered several exotic sects to be kinds of Antinomian: Manichaeans, Marcionites, Montanists, Muscovites, Anabaptists and Socinians.<sup>134</sup> While Russians at least were considered 'great Talkers, Lyars, Flatterers and Dissemblers', inhabitants of Moscow were rarely considered alongside the company they kept here.<sup>135</sup> Another example is the taxonomy of Ranters which appeared in Gilbert Roulston's *The Ranters Bible* (1650). He enumerated several kinds of alleged Ranter: 'the Familists of Love', blaspheming 'Shelomethites', self-righteous 'Clements', mortalist 'Athians', promiscuous 'Nicholartanes', Gnostic 'Marcious [sic]' and anarchic 'Seleutian Donatists'.<sup>136</sup> With the exception of Familists, these were all drawn (and largely misspelt) from the anonymous *XXXIII. Religions, Sects, Societies, and Factions, Of the Cavaliers Now in Armes Against the Parliament* (1643) which evidently plundered patristic heresy-lists for suitably terrifying labels.<sup>137</sup> In light of such names, it has been ironically suggested that historians might even 'rebaptize the Ranter movement as a neo-Gnostic strain of thought'.<sup>138</sup> Others, more fairly, have suggested that some of these labels were earnest, though inaccurate, attempts by the godly to conceive and conceptualise their opponents' theological positions.<sup>139</sup> Evidently, *XXXIII. Religions* identified its enumerated sects with the Cavaliers and J. C. Davis is right to argue that literature against the Cavaliers fed into the anti-Ranter myth.<sup>140</sup> No evidence, however, suggests that Ranters themselves existed *qua* Ranters in 1643 (and certainly not as Gnostics) when the source from which Roulston drew his labels appeared. Ranters *qua* Shelomethites, Athians and Donatists were therefore a taxonomic invention.

Pagitt's taxonomy of Familists reveals a more subtle manipulation of sectarian labels. Pagitt enumerated six kinds of Familist: Castalians, Grindletonians, Familists of the Mountains, Familists of the Valleys, Familists of the Scattered Flock and 'Familists of Caps, order'.<sup>141</sup> Nigel Smith is correct to suggest that Pagitt acquired these terms from Stephen Denison's *The White Wolfe* which was printed in 1627 and

<sup>134</sup> John Sedgewick, *Antinomianisme Anatomized* (1643), p. 28.

<sup>135</sup> *CPWJM*, VIII, p. 495.

<sup>136</sup> Roulston, *A2'-A4'*.

<sup>137</sup> Anon, *XXXIII. Religions*, A2<sup>v</sup>-A4<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>138</sup> John Morrill, 'Review: *Blasphemy, Immorality, and Anarchy: The Ranters and the English Revolution*. By Jerome Friedman', *Review of English Studies*, n. s., 40 (1989), 263-5, p. 265.

<sup>139</sup> Poole, 'Frail Originals', pp. 120-1.

<sup>140</sup> Davis, *Fear, Myth and History*, pp. 80-3.

<sup>141</sup> Pagitt, *Heresiography*, 1st edn, pp. 83-4.

then again in 1641.<sup>142</sup> Pagitt himself acknowledged this debt to Denison in the margin of *Heresiography*'s second edition.<sup>143</sup> But this simple transmission of labels is made more interesting if one considers a deposition by one Giles Creech, a cutler, who appeared before the High Commission Court in 1638.<sup>144</sup> Two transcripts of this deposition exist: one is a copy of Creech's deposition; the other, slightly modified, was also for use by the High Commission Court. This second copy summarised the original deposition, reducing and rationalising Creech's claims. Smith suggests that the Familists in these documents (he does not mention Creech's deposition specifically) were drawn from Denison's sermon.<sup>145</sup> In fact, however, the only sects which Denison's *The White Wolfe* and Creech's deposition shared were Familists of the Mountains and Familists of the Valleys. By triangulating between the labels as they existed in *The White Wolfe*, Creech's deposition and *Heresiography*, therefore, it is possible to gain a valuable insight into the extent to which a taxonomic grouping can be manipulated to polemical advantage.

But Nigel Smith is not the only historian guilty of misreading this slippery taxonomy. David Como, who has recently studied Creech's deposition in relation to Denison's list of Familists, makes several problematic assumptions about it.<sup>146</sup> Como argues that Denison was accurately recording sects and that Creech's use of *only* Familists of the Mountains and of the Valleys corroborated Denison's enumeration of all six kinds of Familist. But even Creech's corroborating sects were inconsistently recorded. Creech drew from Denison 'ffamilistes of the mount' and 'ffamilistes of the Valley', but added 'Essensualistes' and 'Antinomians' himself.<sup>147</sup> Creech's Antinomians were not Familists though one copy of the deposition records them as a '*family* of the Antenomeans'.<sup>148</sup> The second copy of the deposition also turned the Familists of the Mount, Familists of the Valley and Essensualists into distinct 'families', but omitted 'the family of the Antenomeans': it enumerated 'families of the mounte', 'families of Vallies' and 'families of the Essensualists'.<sup>149</sup> Though the use of 'families' in these contexts was directly related to its use in 'the family of love', it appeared to

<sup>142</sup> Smith, *Perfection*, p. 148; Denison, pp. 38-9.

<sup>143</sup> Pagitt, *Heresiography*, 2nd edn, p. 89.

<sup>144</sup> BodL, Tanner MS 70, fols 181<sup>r</sup>-2<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>145</sup> PRO, SPD 16/520, fols 126<sup>r</sup>-9<sup>r</sup>; cf. CSPD, 1648-9, pp. 425-6.

<sup>146</sup> Como, 'Puritans and Heretics', pp. 11-77.

<sup>147</sup> BodL, Tanner MS 70, fols 181<sup>r</sup>-2<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>148</sup> PRO, SPD 16/520, fols 126<sup>r</sup>-v, my emphasis.

<sup>149</sup> Ibid., fols 128<sup>r</sup>-9<sup>r</sup>.

be a sectarian collective noun rather than a specifically Familist one. These groups were no longer 'ffamilistes'. One may conclude therefore that the second copy moderated, rather than perpetuated, the Familism which Creech implicated in his claims. The High Commission, unlike Como, may have suspected Creech of hyperbole.

Como calls Creech's deposition 'a bona fide Familist source' showing 'intimate and reliable knowledge of London antinomianism'.<sup>150</sup> Como, once a student of Peter Lake, prompts even Lake to suggest that '[we] might, therefore, entertain the possibility of different groups, sharing a common familist heritage or influence, existing on the fringes of London puritan society'.<sup>151</sup> Denison's list, for Como, may 'have the feel of fiction, and were it not for corroborative documentation from independent sources, his account would be useless as historical evidence. But in certain instances, his claims were clearly based (however loosely) on fact'.<sup>152</sup> This 'corroborative documentation', of course, is Creech's deposition which appears to be less a 'Familist' source than a mock-deposition so damning that the High Commission itself clarified and moderated its language. But Como continues:

Giles Creech separately confirmed the split between the 'The Familists of the mount' and the 'Familists of the Valley', and although there is a (very) remote possibility that he had derived this unmistakable distinction from hearing or reading Denison's sermon, his intimate knowledge of other aspects of the antinomian underground renders it much more likely that the peculiar Mount/Valley rift had a basis in reality.<sup>153</sup>

Como forgets two important pieces in this logical jigsaw. Firstly, Familists may have become known by these names, but it is unlikely that they proclaimed themselves as such when they were notorious for even failing to define themselves as Familists. It is also unlikely that Creech heard or read Denison's sermon over a decade earlier and *remembered* Denison's list, but it is very possible that these evocative names caught the popular imagination and became useful tags with which to mythologise Familists. Como is therefore wrong to identify these terms so closely with what he correctly sees

<sup>150</sup> Como, 'Puritans and Heretics', p. 9.

<sup>151</sup> Lake, *Boxmaker's Revenge*, p. 180.

<sup>152</sup> Como, 'Puritans and Heretics', p. 40.

as an amorphous 'antinomian bloc' or 'underground community'.<sup>154</sup> Secondly, Creech's 'intimate knowledge of other aspects of the antinomian underground' consisted in his ability to name members of each Familist sect, to provide an estimation of their numerical strength and to describe their beliefs. Creech identified seventeen Familists of the Mount, for example, of whom Como identifies two: one was a book-binder who bound a Familist's books and another was a pedlar who was acquainted with a suspected Familist.<sup>155</sup> This evidence is hardly overwhelming and fails to prove that any Familists differentiated between what Como calls a 'peculiar Mount/Valley rift'.

My disagreement with Como does not concern whether Familists existed or not, but concerns Como's belief that 'pre-conceived, familiar and widely recognised heresiographical categories' might accurately represent the sectarian milieu.<sup>156</sup> He includes Denison's 'Rosey-crosse Wolves' as a Familist sect, for example, misunderstanding that even Denison himself did not consider them to be Familists.<sup>157</sup> Neither did the High Commission consider the 'Mount/Valley rift' and 'Sensualists' to be Familists, but rather groups or congregations which it preferred to describe as 'families'. But it is important to recognise that Creech's taxonomic hyperbole originated in Denison's heresiology which was also keenly adopted by Pagitt. Pagitt's and Creech's approaches to Denison's categories, I hope to show, turned shady Familist groups into defined congregations and distinctive sects; the rationalising momentum of officialdom, on the other hand, was inclined to describe more amorphous groups or 'families' of conventiclers.

Looking at Creech's and Pagitt's use of Denison's 'Familists of the Mountaines' not only contrasts them with the High Commission's reductive account, but illustrates the differences in their respective attempts to transfigure the radicalism they described. Creech described not only much fuller doctrines than Pagitt, but even each sect's numerical strength. Familists of the Mountains, for example, considered themselves to be free from sin in Denison, then became a fully-defined sect for Creech (with over seventeen members), after which Pagitt extrapolated out of their declared sinlessness a strutting and swaggering caricature of sectaries who claimed to have

<sup>153</sup> Ibid., p. 40.

<sup>154</sup> Ibid., p. 56, p. 67.

<sup>155</sup> Ibid., pp. 7-9.

<sup>156</sup> Ibid., p. 280.

<sup>157</sup> Ibid., pp. 39-40.



'cleane vanquished the Devil'.<sup>158</sup> Some historians certainly suggest that Familists of the Mount, along with the Family of the Essensualists, existed in the sixteenth century.<sup>159</sup> Upon examination, however, the quoted evidence for their existence is an unacknowledged citation of Creech's 1638 deposition in Strype's *Annals*.<sup>160</sup> Either Creech was less an expert in a Familist underground than a regurgitator of sixteenth century Familist ideas or, more probably, sixteenth-century Familists of the Mount in fact owed their existence to Creech's deposition which Strype mistakenly believed to be written in 1575. But we can be certain that Pagitt turned Denison's sects into stereotypes while Creech raised the issue of what came first, a sect's name, a sect's beliefs or its labelled believers; and if Denison's list *did* inspire Creech's revelations, it appears the name.

Unlike Pagitt, Creech omitted Denison's Castalian Familists, Grindletonian Familists, Familists of the Scattered Flock and Familists of Caps His Order. Creech must have considered these incapable of bearing the weight of attributed doctrine or alleged membership. Castalians, for example, prove a slippery sect to pin down. Nigel Smith and David Como suggest that they were named after Sebastian Castellio, a sixteenth-century Italian scholar who argued against the burning of heretics and translated the mystical *Theologia Germanica* into Latin from German in 1557.<sup>161</sup> But the name might be an accusation of paganism rather than of mysticism, referring to a place rather than a person. Some Familists, for example, were accused of reading too much Ovid and Virgil, and Castalia was a spring on Mount Parnassus which was sacred to the Muses.<sup>162</sup> Perhaps the name even refers to a region in south-western France near the valleys of Piedmont whose inhabitants had been the object of papal persecution since the twelfth century. Pagitt followed Denison's use of 'Castalians' despite the ambiguities, adding arbitrarily and unhelpfully that they were 'notorious

<sup>158</sup> Denison, p. 39; PRO, SPD 16/520, fol. 126r; Pagitt, *Heresiography*, 1st edn, p. 84.

<sup>159</sup> Hill, *Upside Down*, p. 27, p. 114, p. 175; Buckley, p. 67.

<sup>160</sup> John Strype, *Annals of the Reformation and Establishment of Religion, and Other Various Occurrences in the Church of England, During Queen Elizabeth's Happy Reign*, 7 vols (Oxford: Clarendon, 1824), II, i, p. 563.

<sup>161</sup> Smith, *Perfection*, p. 148; Como, 'Puritans and Heretics', p. 39; Williams, pp. 959-62, see Martinus Bellius [Sebastian Castellio], *Concerning Heretics*, trans. Roland Bainton (New York: Columbia University Press, 1935; first published in Latin and French, 1554), pp. 121-252; Anon, *Theologia Germanica*, trans. Joannes Theophilo [Sebastian Castellio] (Basle, 1557).

<sup>162</sup> Anon, *A Description of the Sect Called the Familie of Love: With their Common Place of Residence* (1641), p. 3. The Root and Branch Petition of December 1640 also condemned the reading of Ovid, see *Parliamentary History*, II, p. 674. Ovid had been viewed with concern since it was included in St Paul's School's humanist curriculum in the early sixteenth century, see Brigden, p. 69; cf. Milton, *Paradise Lost*, iv, l. 274.

Hypocrites'.<sup>163</sup> In this way, Pagitt's retention of the name in the legitimating locus of Denison's usage authorised an otherwise spurious label: taxonomy held together names which lacked any substance. Creech's omission of the label does not suggest that he was telling the truth, but that he was calculated in his attempt to satisfy the curiosity of his episcopal inquisitors.

Pagitt himself not only used all of Denison's labels but altered, magnified and manipulated their presence as he reiterated them. Denison rightly admitted, for example, that Grindletonians inhabited 'the North parts of England', but declared in the margin, 'Yea I wish that there were not such kind of Familists also in this Citie of London, or in the Suburbs thereof, but I hope God will discover them in time'.<sup>164</sup> That Denison could not see Grindletonian Familists in London did not mean that they were not there. His attitude recalled the insistent and hysterical heresy-hunting of John Brinsley: 'As for *Hereticks* and *Blasphemers*, such as in all ages there have been, and such there must be...There must be *Blasphemers* amongst us!'.<sup>165</sup> With Brinsley's certainty, Pagitt omitted any discussion of the Grindletonians' location and returned to sound-bite descriptions, such as their belief according to 'motions' rather than 'motives'.<sup>166</sup> Pagitt's treatment did nothing but generalise, disperse and hence exaggerate their presence.

Another example is Pagitt's adoption and manipulation of Denison's 'Familists of Caps his Order'.<sup>167</sup> These Familists, in Pagitt, became 'of *Caps*, order', and the reader no longer asks who Cap the Familist was, but why Familists wore caps.<sup>168</sup> The answer lies in the characteristic identification of sectaries with papists. The cap in question was probably the *capuche*, the pointed cowl which Capuchin friars wore. The Capuchin Order was an offshoot of the Franciscan Order, established in 1529 in an attempt to return to the original simplicity of the Franciscans.<sup>169</sup> Parliament specifically attacked the Capuchin Order in the early 1640s for 'seducing the King's people from the Protestant religion' and Pagitt's allusion to them may have been

<sup>163</sup> Denison, p. 38; Pagitt, *Heresiography*, 1st edn, p. 83.

<sup>164</sup> D. B. Foss, 'Grindletonianism', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 67 (1995), 147-54; Hill, *Upside Down*, pp. 81-5; Denison, p. 39.

<sup>165</sup> Brinsley, p. 20.

<sup>166</sup> Pagitt, *Heresiography*, 1st edn, p. 84.

<sup>167</sup> Denison, p. 39; Como, 'Puritans and Heretics', p. 39. Como mistranscribes Denison's label as the 'Familists of Caps Order'.

<sup>168</sup> Pagitt, *Heresiography*, 1st edn, p. 84; cf. *ibid.*, 2nd edn, p. 90. In the second edition, this label becomes the more formalised 'Familists of *Caps* Order'.

<sup>169</sup> Cross and Livingstone, p. 285.

timely.<sup>170</sup> The pointed cowl was a powerful image to attach to heretics, drawing upon associations of priestly subterfuge and malice. Of course, Capuchin-cowl-wearing Familists were a fabricated image of popish sectaries with no apparent basis in reality, rather like Anapapists and Coetanii. In this way, the manipulation of Denison's Familists in both Pagitt's and Creech's adoption of them shows that taxonomy transmitted, transformed and, in doing so, even fabricated religious radicalism by exploiting a taxonomic framework which could suggest empirical derivation.

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In everyday life, things precede words. Christopher Hill is right when he suggests that people 'find words to say what they have done or experienced in the process of doing it, or after they have experienced it'.<sup>171</sup> Heresiological nomenclature, however, was not based upon things. Things, or rather sects and sectaries, were projected out of words. Foucault suggests that taxonomy was able to re-represent the world within a purely discursive environment; Wittgenstein goes further by locating the origin of meaning in language itself. Thus heresiology's distinct operation lay in its manipulation of language to create a world which was brimful with terrifying and ungodly sectaries. It is unsurprising that at least one historian is tempted to see Laurence Clarkson as a character in a novel, a 'fantastically made-to-measure' verbal invention rather than a dead zealot.<sup>172</sup>

Accusations of sectarian stupidity, promiscuity, novelty and antiquity were supported by the very language, the *words*, in which they were made. This corroboration unfurled out of aptronymic sectarian labels which relied upon sacred and secular histories rather than the surrounding world for legitimating authority and credibility. This is not to suggest that heresy had no independent existence; rather, heresiological nomenclature was a linguistic matrix of association and reference which was superimposed over those considered to be ungodly. It arranged them into nominated sects and attributed to them historical origins, beliefs and behaviour. In this way, it was a vocabulary of condemnation and denunciation with which sectaries could not identify or appropriate for themselves. Specifically, this was because it was

<sup>170</sup> *Parliamentary History*, II, p. 901.

<sup>171</sup> Christopher Hill, 'The Word "Revolution"', in *ibid.*, *A Nation of Change and Novelty*, pp. 82-101, p. 98.

<sup>172</sup> Morton, p. 115.

a self-contained, self-supporting method of accusation that was based upon 'scientific' discursive practices which claimed empirical derivation and the support of weighty authorities. It was also a highly associational language and, in so far as it was aptronymic, even metaphorical. The final chapter therefore explores how metaphor and early science created a fascinating synthesis of the poetic and the scientific; of religious polemic and early natural history: a terminology which creates as it describes, and fabricates as it investigates.

## A Natural History of Heresy: The Metaphorical Fabrication of Radicalism

Pagitt's preferred image for the sectaries he attacked was that of the wolf. *The Mystical Wolfe* was a sermon on Matthew 7:15 and the same scriptural verse adorned the frontispiece of *Heresiography*: 'Beware of false prophets, which come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly are ravening wolves'.<sup>1</sup> In *Heresiography*, sectaries were 'indeed *ravening Wolves*', even 'Men-eaters'.<sup>2</sup> In *The Mystical Wolfe*, wolves were the primary metaphor with which sectaries were described and denounced. Like wolves, sectaries preyed upon members of the parish flock by 'smiting [the] Shepherds with their tongues [so] the Sheep are scattered and surprised'.<sup>3</sup> They were also rabidly infectious, stealthy, subtle and insatiably cruel.<sup>4</sup> Pagitt called these lupine sectaries 'Mysticall wolves' as if they were a kind or *genus* of wolf.<sup>5</sup> In this way, wolves not only functioned as a metaphor for sectaries, but as a category for their classification. This chapter explores Pagitt's use of this metaphor by locating it amidst not only contemporary heresiology, but by investigating the contexts from which it emerged: a conspicuous strand of patristic heresiology, medieval bestiaries and early natural history. I hope to show how the use of bestial metaphors, and those involving wolves in particular, transformed sectaries *into* beasts.

Heresiology has often reminded historians of medieval bestiaries and early natural histories. Thomas Corns remarks that the heresy-lists of the 1640s were 'the tendentious extension of the bestiary genre to English political and religious life'.<sup>6</sup> Early natural histories, however, permitted far more detailed and descriptive comparisons to be made between sectaries and beasts. David Masson suggests that heresy-lists during the seventeenth century compiled '[a] complete Natural History of Religious Opinion in England' as if they described an 'animal' kingdom of heresy and error.<sup>7</sup> While this is to credit heresy-lists with a naively grand documentary achievement, it correctly detects the relationship between much heresiology and early natural history.

<sup>1</sup> Pagitt, *Wolfe*, B1r; *ibid.*, *Heresiography*, 1st edn, π1r.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, *Heresiography*, 1st edn, B1r, A4r.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, *Wolfe*, p. 14, pp. 13-5.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 20.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, A2r.

<sup>6</sup> Corns, *Uncloistered Virtue*, p. 128.



This relationship is rooted in an influential style of patristic heresiology which has rarely, if ever, been investigated: the bestialising heresiology of Epiphanius of Salamis. The frequency and significance of animal metaphors in much seventeenth-century heresiology recalls Epiphanius' heresy-list, the *Panarion*. Influenced by Epiphanius' bestial depiction of heretics, animal metaphors were so frequent and significant in seventeenth-century heresiology that they altered the very appearance of heretics in the eyes and minds of readers. This is to suggest that Pagitt's writings, like much heresiology, made use of animal metaphors so consistently that metaphors turned into myth: heretics became kinds of animals and these animals became heretics. In this way, seventeenth-century heresiology not only claimed disciplinary origins in early natural history, but once more exploited the representational possibilities of taxonomy. This again emphasises heresiology's 'scientific' character which is inextricably bound up with its polemical function: namely, the fabrication of radicalism.

### Early Bestial Heresy and the *Panarion*

In *Heresiography*, Pagitt was keen to identify himself with one past heresiologist in particular, Epiphanius of Salamis: '*Epiphanius* writeth of the heresies of his time, calleth his Booke *Pænarium*, that is, a medicinable box, containing saving medicaments against lying doctrine'.<sup>8</sup> Pagitt's own *Heresiography* was also conceived as 'a medicinable box' and Pagitt drew heavily upon Epiphanius' style of heresiology. Specifically, Pagitt's account of lupine sectaries recalled Epiphanius' sustained account of bestial heretics because both men systematically compared their opponents to beasts. Here, I wish to explore Epiphanius' metaphors as a source for Pagitt's own heresiological and metaphorical method, but it is first necessary to investigate the context out of which Epiphanius' own bestialising heresiology emerged.

Animals have long been used to describe the irreligious, the heretical, and the heathen. The origins of these metaphors lie in the Bible.<sup>9</sup> Wolves, foxes and serpents are obvious examples. Others include burdensome cows (Amos 4:1), bulls who deserved rebuke (Psalms 68:30), despised worms (Psalms 22:6), cankerworms,

<sup>7</sup> Masson, III, p. 137.

<sup>8</sup> Pagitt, *Heresiography*, 1st edn, B2v.

palmerworms, locusts and caterpillars which devoured all before them (Joel 2:25), unclean ravens, owls, cuckoos, bats (Deuteronomy 14:12-18), weasels, mice, tortoises, ferrets, chameleons, lizards, snails and moles (Leviticus 11:29-30). Such animals were seen as brutalised, dangerous and even demonic.<sup>10</sup> Animals in the Bible expressed a very primitive and long-established impulse to decry and dehumanise certain men and women.

This is because, as Richard Tapper suggests, 'animals are good to think with, and good to teach with'. They can articulate embarrassing or sensitive truths about human societies and can reinforce social values by giving them a basis in, and relating them to, the natural world.<sup>11</sup> Tapper goes on to suggest that using animals in this way distinguished humans *from* animals. By turning animals into metaphors, their similarities with men and women were juxtaposed against the many differences which also existed. This fails to explain, however, why the bestial representation of religious opponents was such an unequivocally hostile act of metaphorical dehumanisation.

John Berger's account of bestial comparisons allows one to understand more satisfactorily their dehumanising effect. He suggests that animals 'have always been central to the process by which men form an image of themselves' and '[b]y taking the animal's appearance it was possible to become the animal'. 'Becoming', he states, 'was the only way of possessing', by which he means that one's assumption of a bestial identity was the inclusion of that animal within the folklore and traditions of a tribe or group.<sup>12</sup> This is because Berger is describing very primitive societies which identified positively with the animal kingdom. In the New Testament, for example, lambs, doves and sheep conveyed positive images of congregational unity and harmony; in the Old Testament, on the other hand, animals were also used to denounce and dehumanise those who disagreed with Jewish law. In this way, accusations of being a fox, a ferret or a mole were not acts of possession or inclusion, but statements of exile or exclusion from a body of believers. Though such metaphors were less widely used in the New Testament, it is necessary to examine the use of hostile animal metaphors by Christians. The earliest of these date from the time at

<sup>9</sup> Elijah Judah Schochet, *Animal Life in Jewish Tradition: Attitudes and Relationships* (New York: Ktav Publishing House, 1984), pp. 9-79.

<sup>10</sup> Andrew Linzey, *Christianity and the Rights of Animals* (London: SPCK 1987), pp. 17-8, p. 58.

<sup>11</sup> Richard Tapper, 'Animality, Humanity, Morality, Society', in Tim Ingold, ed., *What is an Animal?* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1988), pp. 47-62, p. 51.

<sup>12</sup> John Berger, 'Animal World', *New Society*, 25th November 1971, 1042-3, p. 1042; cf. *ibid.*, 'Animals as Metaphor', *New Society*, 10th March 1977, 504-5, *passim*.

which much of the New Testament itself was written and are the forebears of Epiphanius' own metaphors.

Ignatius of Antioch (c. 35-c. 107) described the enemies of Christianity as wild beasts, dogs and wolves. He called the ten Roman soldiers who took him to Rome to be martyred leopards and beasts 'in the form of men'.<sup>13</sup> These comparisons, like some of Paul's own (such as I Corinthians 15:32), were drawn from knowledge about the wild beasts which savaged Christians in the Roman arena. The brutality of such spectacles marked the Romans themselves as similarly brutal. As one anthropologist suggests: 'Animals are brought into human social categories by a simple extension to them of the principles that serve for ordinary human relationships'.<sup>14</sup> But Ignatius' comparisons (and those of the Bible itself) also drew upon the wider context of animal lore and the animals themselves. Ignatius' guards were leopards, for example, because he could not escape them. The Bible's accounts of lowly worms, insatiable locusts and unclean moles also drew upon particular characteristics of each creature: lowliness, insatiability and uncleanness. Subsequent descriptions of animals did likewise in order to develop the integrity of their metaphors. Origen (c. 185-c. 254), John Chrysostom (c. 347-407), Augustine (354-430) and Ambrose of Milan (339-97) used animals to describe emotional states and, by extension, human types by drawing upon the qualities of certain species such as lions, leopards, foxes and wolves.<sup>15</sup> Jawaharlal Handeo writes that such metaphors were 'arranged in such a manner that they address the concerns of the cultures that create them' and one must remember that they revealed not only what people knew about animals but what they thought about the people to whom they compared them.<sup>16</sup> It is unsurprising that the animal kingdom, therefore, with its dangerous, poisonous and sharp-toothed inhabitants, provided so many metaphors for peril and revulsion with which to describe religious opponents. The first author to make specific use of such metaphors was Epiphanius of Salamis.

<sup>13</sup> Ignatius of Antioch, *The Epistles of S<sup>t</sup> Ignatius Bishop of Antioch*, trans. J. H. Stawley (London: SPCK, 1919), p. 39, p. 43, p. 76, p. 77, p. 83, p. 93, p. 94.

<sup>14</sup> Mary Douglas, 'The Pangolin Revisited: A New Approach to Animal Symbolism', in Roy Willis, ed., *Signifying Animals: Human Meaning in the Natural World* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1990), pp. 25-36, p. 26, p. 36.

<sup>15</sup> Peter Harrison, 'The Fall, the Passions, and Dominion over Nature', in Stephen Gaukroger, ed., *The Soft Underbelly of Reason: The Passions in the Seventeenth Century* (London: Routledge, 1998), pp. 48-78, pp. 50-1.

<sup>16</sup> Jawaharlal Handeo, 'Cultural Attitudes to Birds and Animals in Folklore', in Willis, ed., pp. 37-42, p. 41.

Epiphanius (c. 315-403) was the most prolific heresiologist of the early Church.<sup>17</sup> In 374, he wrote the *Ancoratus* (meaning the *Well-Anchored Christian*) which took the form of a letter to the Church of Syedra in Pamphylia. It discussed orthodox interpretations of the Holy Spirit, the Trinity, the Incarnation, the Resurrection and included an attack upon Origen's understanding of Genesis, an attack upon the Greek gods and a short heresy-list. The following year, Epiphanius expanded this heresy-list into the *Panarion* (meaning *Medicine Chest*) which drew upon the heresy-lists of Irenaeus and Hippolytus. The *Panarion* itself formed the basis of Augustine's *De Haeresibus*.<sup>18</sup>

The *Panarion* was divided into three books and seven sections, in the course of which Epiphanius enumerated eighty heresies, one for each "concubine" in the Song of Songs 6:8. Each heresy was described briefly and formulaically. Numerous letters and *verbatim* citations of heretics, which are no longer extant elsewhere, were also included. The real significance of the *Panarion* for this study, however, is that Epiphanius identified its heretics with kinds of dangerous or poisonous animal. Though Ignatius' letters were unavailable largely until James Ussher's 1644 Latin edition, Epiphanius' *Panarion* (with which the *Ancoratus* was often bound) was published in Greek as early as 1544.<sup>19</sup> Three Latin translations and a glut of editions were printed in both Paris and Basle between the 1540s and 1580s. Epiphanius' *Contra Octoaginta Haereses Opus, Pannarium* was certainly available in seventeenth-century England.<sup>20</sup>

Epiphanius' identification of animals with kinds of heretic was based upon numerous biblical metaphors. Snakes, for example, drew upon detailed biblical descriptions which encouraged their identification with sly, insinuating and menacing sectaries. Serpents were renowned for their subtlety (Genesis 3:1), for biting and stinging (Proverbs 23:32) and for poisoning others just as the wicked spread lies (Psalm 58:4). Genesis even included an account of a horned asp which hid in the sand

<sup>17</sup> Epiphanius, *Panarion*, I, ix-xvi.

<sup>18</sup> Gérard Vallée, *A Study in Anti-Gnostic Polemics: Irenaeus, Hippolytus, and Epiphanius* (Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University, 1981), p. 6.

<sup>19</sup> Ignatius of Antioch, *Polycarpi et Ignatii Epistolae*, ed and trans. James Ussher (Oxford, 1644).

<sup>20</sup> I have used a 1578 (Basle) edition of *Contra Octoaginta Haereses Opus, Pannarium* alongside Frank Williams' recent translation (1987-94). Epiphanius' influence was primarily one of perspective, rather than page references so I have therefore used Williams' translation, clarifying expressions where necessary with reference to the Latin. Williams' *Panarion* is translated into English directly from the Greek, as were the sixteenth century translations into Latin, but it corresponds sufficiently closely and consistently to the 1578 edition's content to be a valuable guide.

and, rather than impaling a man on its horn, bit his horse in order to throw him (Genesis 49:17). A serpent persuaded Eve to eat the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge (Genesis 3:1-6) and John repeatedly identified the Devil as a serpent (Revelations 12:9, 20:2). This biblically-endorsed hostility to snakes certainly encouraged Epiphanius' descriptions of serpentine heretics. But Epiphanius used other animals from the Bible too. Heretics who were hostile to baptism, for example, were compared to the flies in an apothecary's ointment (Ecclesiastes 10:1).<sup>21</sup> He cited Isaiah 56:10 to call heretics 'dumb dogs' who madly and blindly railed at their master, the Lord.<sup>22</sup> For Epiphanius, the Bible was a ready source of animal metaphors and invited the extensive use of such comparisons. If we examine the precise nature of Epiphanius' metaphors, however, we realise that they involved much more than the Bible.

Each heresy in the *Panarion* was identified with an animal. Valentinians were like 'a fire-breathing dragon, or a dreadful basilisk'.<sup>23</sup> Another sect was like 'a many-footed, ugly, misshapen and foul-smelling chameleon'.<sup>24</sup> There were also sting-rays, sea-snakes, sharks and sea-eels.<sup>25</sup> Quintillianists and Phrygians were like blood-sucking vipers.<sup>26</sup> Basilides resembled the 'horned asp' which hid in the sand with only its horn exposed.<sup>27</sup> Secundians resembled a mousing viper which Epiphanius crushed underfoot.<sup>28</sup> Several other sects were compared to the mousing viper, also known as a 'quick-darting' snake or a 'blind-snake'.<sup>29</sup> Epiphanius sought to squash Colorbasus 'like the four-jawed snake called the malmignette or crush him quickly like a head cut off from the two-headed viper, the amphisbaena'.<sup>30</sup> Severians were crushed like 'a horrid scorpion'.<sup>31</sup> Other sects were compared to snakes which were not even worth killing. Snakes which 'look very alarming but can do no harm with their bites', such as the libys, molorus and elops, were described.<sup>32</sup> Other animals were similarly harmless or, at least, paled into insignificance besides fire-breathing dragons and basilisks.

<sup>21</sup> Epiphanius, *Panarion*, I, p. 264.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., II, p. 603.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., I, p. 152.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., II, p. 638.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., I, p. 151; I, p. 248.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., II, p. 21.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., I, p. 76.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., I, p. 197.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., II, p. 121; II, p. 86.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., I, p. 239.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., I, p. 348.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., II, p. 128.



Cerdonians were like 'a bembix or wasp - flying insects with stings, that suddenly take wing and dart at us'.<sup>33</sup> Such little insects elicited a tone of derision. One sect was like 'a smarting wasp' which broke its sting against the rock of truth.<sup>34</sup> Other diminutive creatures included geckos, flies, millipedes, woodlice and beetles.<sup>35</sup> Origen was compared to a blind dormouse.<sup>36</sup> What strikes the reader is the variety of animals described. They were a means of belittling and berating heretics or a way of emphasising the dangerous nature of heresy in terms which men and women readily understood. Epiphanius was not writing a sophisticated account, but a comprehensive, earnest and accessible one. It is evident, however, that the variety of animals he used went far beyond those established in the Bible as heresiological *topoi*. So why did Epiphanius use so many and where did he find them?

Answering the first question allows one to answer the second. Epiphanius evidently compared heretics to animals according to whether they posed a menacing or a negligible threat. In this way, he corresponded creaturely features to heretics' characteristics and some animals permitted a greater description of sectarian qualities and idiosyncrasies than others. Epiphanius claimed that Adamites lurked in 'dens and caves', for example, and therefore compared them to moles in a surprisingly detailed manner:

The four-footed animal with an underground den which tunnels in the earth and has its burrow deep inside it, is called a mole. All its characteristics are like a small puppy's, for it has [a] round shape, and no sight at all. It is a destructive creature which roots out people's crops from below - onions, garlic, purse-tassels and the like, and lilies and the rest. But if it actually gets onto the surface during its tunnelling, in the open air, or if it is hunted and caught by men, it is a ridiculous sight to all who hunt the creature.<sup>37</sup>

The Adamites' subterranean habitat was only one reason why they were so mole-like. Epiphanius established several correspondences between the characteristics ascribed to moles and the practices of Adamites:

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., I, p. 271.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., I, p. 346.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., I, p. 240; I, p. 264; II, p. 67; II, p. 629.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., II, p. 207.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., II, pp. 67-8.

I am trying to say with all this that the sect, with which I now have to do is blind at heart and stupid, creates a desolation for itself, undermines the ground it stands on, and does injury to the roots of many...But if the wise happen to spy it, it gives them a good laugh.<sup>38</sup>

Comparing Adamites to moles must have struck readers as peculiar so Epiphanius explained why he used such an extensive metaphor. This was tantamount to admitting that moles were odd intruders into such a polemic and his description of moles seems little more than a reiteration of animal lore or an excerpt from a natural history. It was only this commentary upon the extensive description which attributed to them heresiological relevance which was, having been expounded, an imaginative and effective means of communicating a description of Adamites to the men and women of the time. Thus detailed accounts of animals, and of such a variety of them, allowed Epiphanius to compare heretics to animals in a convincing and comprehensive manner. Such descriptions, however, invite one to ask precisely upon which sources did he rely: Greek natural histories or popular wisdom?

Epiphanius suggested that describing Archontics was like 'exposing poisonous dung-beetles'.<sup>39</sup> This appears to be as arbitrary a comparison as Epiphanius used to describe any heresy. But the comparison allowed Epiphanius to reveal his interest in natural history or what he considered to be the naturally curious observations of any watchful man:

For I find in the so-called naturalists - or rather, I observe this for myself - that dung-beetles, which some called *bylari*, have the habit of rolling in foulness and dung, and this is food and taste for them...Anyone wishing to test them, as the naturalists say, can cause the death of dung-beetles by taking a bit of perfume, I mean balsam or nard, and applying it to them. They die instantly because they cannot stand the sweet odor. Thus these people with their longing for copulation, fornication and wickedness, set

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<sup>38</sup> Ibid., II, p. 68.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., I, p. 255.

their hopes on evil things. But if they come near the holy font and its sweet fragrance, they die blaspheming God and despising his sovereignty.<sup>40</sup>

The knowledge obtained by a naturalist or any keen observer of nature was extremely important for Epiphanius' analogies and metaphors. Epiphanius also referred to 'naturalists' to describe how the viper which was known as a dipsas poisoned drinking water to catch its prey. In this way, the dipsas was like the heresiarch Marcus who not only offered his acolytes coloured water to drink, but seduced his female devotees with philtres and love potions.<sup>41</sup> The detail of such observations permitted far closer correspondences to be drawn between heretics and animals than were possible through use of only the Bible.

It is therefore unsurprising that Epiphanius was heavily indebted to naturalists and presented his heresiology as natural history. He acknowledged his debt to Nicander 'the investigator of beasts and reptiles' as well as those who studied 'roots and plants'. These included Dioscurides 'the Wood-Cutter', Pamphilus, King Mithridates, Callisthenes, Philo, Iolaus of Bithynia, Heraclidus of Taranto, Cratenus 'the Root-Collector', Andrew, Bassus the Tulian, Niceratus, Petronius Niger, and Diodotus.<sup>42</sup> Epiphanius continued:

Those authors made a diligent effort, not to point evil out, but to frighten men and ensure their safety, so that they would recognize the dreadful, dangerous beasts and be secure, and escape them, by God's power, by taking care not to engage with such deadly creatures if they encountered them, and were menaced with their breath or bite, or the sight of them....these authors prescribed medicines made from roots and plants, to cure illness caused by these serpents.<sup>43</sup>

Nicander sought to describe snakes and their poisons and Dioscorides categorised plants according to their medicinal value. Epiphanius saw himself in similar terms. His *Panarion* was a *Medicine Chest* that presented itself, in the tradition of Greek natural

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., I, p. 264.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., I, p. 232.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., I, p. 13.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., I, p. 13.

history, as 'a treatment' and 'a preventative'.<sup>44</sup> The *Panarion*, however, was not a corrective or cure for poison and disease, but religious error.

In this way, Epiphanius anticipated much seventeenth-century heresiology in a manner other than his description of bestial heretics. Seventeenth-century heresiological texts often advertised themselves as cures, correctives and, most commonly, as *Antidotes*.<sup>45</sup> Heresiologists described themselves as physicians, surgeons and apothecaries.<sup>46</sup> Such self-fashioning lay behind the widespread identification of religious error as poison, venom, infection, leprosy or gangrene.<sup>47</sup> London was 'much more to be pittied', lamented Pagitt in 1645, 'then when there dyed in it 5000. a week of the Plague'.<sup>48</sup> This view of heresy was also influenced by the Bible. Edwards' *Gangraena* was aptly-named, recalling the gangrenous 'canker' of which Paul spoke in 2 Timothy 2:17. Widespread accounts of heresy as leprosy drew upon the detection and treatment of lepers as described in Leviticus 13 which confined those with suspicious scabs, scalls, spots, swellings, sores or boils.<sup>49</sup> But the real relevance of Epiphanius' *Panarion* was not its anticipation of medical or toxicological metaphors in seventeenth-century heresiology, but its establishment of heresy's animal character and its depiction of bestial heretics.

By comparing Epiphanius' more detailed bestial metaphors with those in the Bible and Ignatius of Antioch's letters, it is evident just how influential naturalists were upon the *Panarion*. These more detailed metaphors attributed to heretics extensive bestial characteristics which transformed them, to use Epiphanius' words, into the 'forbidding shapes of evil reptiles and beasts' (*malorum reptilium ac*

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., II, p. 6.

<sup>45</sup> See R. B. K. *An Antidote Against Arminianisme, or, A Plain and Brief Discourse Wherein the State of the Question in All the Five Infamous Articles of Arminius is Set Down, and the Orthodox Tenets Confirmed by Cleere Scripturall Grounds* (1641); Henry Denne, *An Antidote Against Antinomianisme* (1643); Richard Allen, *An Antidote Against Heresy or A Preservative for Protestants Against the Poyson of Papists, Anabaptists, Arrians, Arminians, &c...and their Pestilent Errours* (1648); Robert Baillie, *A Scotch Antidote Against the English Infection of Arminianism* (1652); Anon, *The Anti-Levellers Antidote Against the Most Venomous of the Serpents, the Subtillest Monopolizers* (1652); John Reading, *An Antidote Against Anabaptisme* (1654); Henry More, *An Antidote Against Atheism, or, An Appeal to the Naturall Faculties of the Minde of Man, Whether There be not a God* (1655).

<sup>46</sup> Anon, *Sectary Dissected*, p. 16; Cranford, pp. 45-6; Sedgewick, pp. 27-8; Edwards, *Reasons*, p. 55; *ibid.*, *Gangraena*, II, p. 131; Ross, *IIANSEBEIA*, 1st edn, A4<sup>v</sup>, A5<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>47</sup> R. I. Moore, 'Heresy as Disease', in W. Loudaux and D. Verhelst, eds, *The Concept of Heresy in the Middle Ages (11th-13th C.): Proceedings of the International Conference, Louvain, May 13-16 1973* (Leuven: Leuven University, 1976), pp. 1-11, *passim*; *ibid.*, *Dissent*, pp. 246-50; Christine M. Boeckl, 'Plague Imagery as Metaphor for Heresy in Rubens' *The Miracles of Saint Francis Xavier*', *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 27 (1996), 979-995, pp. 991-4; Bagchi, *Anatomy of Heresy*, pp. 269-70.

<sup>48</sup> Pagitt, *Wolffe*, p. 29.

<sup>49</sup> Hodges, p. 8; Anon, *Sectary Dissected*, p. 21; Cranford, p. 3; Vines, *Authors*, p. 49; Edwards, *Gangraena*, I, p. 93.

*bestiarum...formas tristes*).<sup>50</sup> This metamorphic heresiology not only transformed its heretics into beasts or, at least, into beastly shapes and forms, but was very akin to natural history. Epiphanius employed bestial comparisons so systematically, for example, that he suggested that his opponents might be distinguished by *species* and *genus* (*speciem ac genus*) just as an early naturalist might have divided up the specimens he gathered.<sup>51</sup> Thus the *Panarion* turned into a natural history of heresy. Much seventeenth-century heresiology, I will suggest, did likewise.

### From Bestiary to Natural History: Towards a Zoology of Heresy

The relationship between heresiology and natural history was complex because heresiology was not really about nature and natural history did not really concern heresy. Both certainly shared a pseudo-medical and toxicological slant, but to investigate how heresiology was like 'a medicinale box' fails to help one understand how bestial metaphors fabricated radicalism. Ancient natural histories, medieval bestiaries and early modern natural histories, however, can be examined from an heresiological perspective to show how they influenced seventeenth-century heresy-lists and how bestial metaphors were used to enrich and embellish hostile accounts of sectarianism. Thus an account of seventeenth-century heresiology's metaphorical fabrication of radicalism, its transformation of heretics into animals, must build upon an account of Epiphanius' influence by describing the wider field of early natural history.

Many of the Greek naturalists named by Epiphanius are little known. Within the larger Aristotelian project of observing and recording Nature, however, a tradition of toxicological writing began in the third century BC with Apollodorus of Alexandria. His accounts of venomous animals were used by Nicander to produce his *Θηριᾶκᾶ* (*Theriaca* or *On Poisonous Animals*, c. 170 BC). This was a hexameter poem describing snakes, their bites and various antidotes. Nicander was read by Galen, Pliny, Aelian and Dioscurides, whose *Materia Medica* was bound up with the *Θηριᾶκᾶ* when the Aldine press first printed them together in 1499.<sup>52</sup> Pliny's

<sup>50</sup> Epiphanius, *Octoaginta Haereses*, b1r, my translation.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid., *Panarion*, II, p. 638; *ibid.*, *Octoaginta Haereses*, p. 350.

<sup>52</sup> Madeline C. Covi and Peter K. Knoefel, *A Hellenistic Treatise on Poisonous Animals (The "Theriaca" of Nicander of Colophon): A Contribution to the History of Toxicology* (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen, 1991), pp. 5-16, pp. 43-50, pp. 27-39, p. 2.



compendious first-century *Naturalis Historia* drew toxicological wisdom back into the larger field of natural history. This was followed in the early third century by Aelian's *De Natura Animalium*, a miscellany of facts, both real and supposed, and Solinus' *Collectanea Rerum Memorabilium* which plagiarised and condensed much of Pliny. Early church writers certainly read these works. Men such as Theophilus of Antioch (later 2nd century), Hippolytus (c. 170-c. 236, who also wrote a *Refutation of All Heresies* which was unavailable in the seventeenth-century), Origen, Basil (c. 330-79) and Ambrose of Milan all described the animals in Eden with what one scholar calls 'a lively scientific curiosity' by relying upon precisely such natural histories.<sup>53</sup> It is unsurprising that these men used natural histories to describe their opponents. Epiphanius, it seems, was only the first to do so.

He was certainly not the last. Early natural histories were plundered in the medieval period when the clergy asked how the natural world might justify or prove their religious beliefs. The result was the medieval bestiary, the earliest form of which was the *Physiologus*.<sup>54</sup> This was a description of numerous animals, together with their moral and religious symbolism. Significantly, the title, *Physiologus*, was applied to several different but similar treatises so that a single text cannot be determined.<sup>55</sup> The symbolism was more structured than Aesop's ever popular *Fables* because it drew systematic comparisons rather than constructed animal 'parables'. Some of these comparisons involved Epiphanian exhortations against heresy. The ant, for example, collected barley but not wheat because barley was not only 'the food of brutes', but 'the teachings of heretics'.<sup>56</sup> This correspondence was followed by a brief heresy-list and the author of the *Physiologus* was once considered to be Epiphanius himself.<sup>57</sup>

Along with Greek naturalists, bestiaries influenced larger medieval encyclopaedias such as Isidore of Seville's sixth-century *Etymologies*. The early modern period inherited this huge body of knowledge, much of it spurious, though some scholars suggest that bestiaries did not influence later natural histories at all.<sup>58</sup>

<sup>53</sup> Lynn Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science During the First Thirteen Centuries of Our Era: Volume One* (London: Macmillan, 1923), pp. 485, pp. 480-95.

<sup>54</sup> Montague Rhodes James, 'The Bestiary', *History: The Quarterly Journal of the Historical Association*, n. s., 16 (1931), 1-11, passim.

<sup>55</sup> Thorndike, pp. 500-1.

<sup>56</sup> Anon, *Physiologus*, ed. and trans. Michael J. Curley (Austin: University of Texas, 1979), pp. 22-3.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, xvi, xxvii.

<sup>58</sup> Charles E. Raven, *English Naturalists from Neckam to Ray: A Study of the Making of the Modern World* (Cambridge: CUP, 1947), p. 4; William B. Ashworth, Jr, 'Emblematic Natural History of the Renaissance', in N. Jardine, J. A. Secord and E. C. Spary, eds, *Cultures of Natural History* (Cambridge: CUP, 1996), pp. 17-37, p. 25.

Other scholars stress that beast lore was inextricably bound up with the medieval bestiary. One historian even identifies the *Physiologus* as 'a pseudoscientific anthology'.<sup>59</sup> Within the scope of this study, however, Aristotelian and Greek natural histories were more influential than the bestiary; the bestiary's influence was to perpetuate the religious (and sometimes heresiological) character of beast literature which was first established by Epiphanius.

Heresiology in the seventeenth century shared several characteristics with this body of natural history, from which it gleaned much of its animal lore, whether spurious, spectacular or spot-on. Humanist scholars compiled the massed learning of natural history and set it forth in compendious tomes such as Conrad Gesner's *Historia Animalium* which appeared in four volumes between 1551 and 1558. In England, Edward Topsell relied heavily on Gesner to compile *The Historie of Foure-Footed Beasts* (1607) and *The Historie of Serpents* (1608). A brief comparison of these natural histories and seventeenth-century heresiology indicates that heresiology and natural history shared more than a metaphorically-based toxicological slant.

Both natural histories and heresiologies claimed to describe the world around them and therefore assumed an empirical tone. More importantly, some natural historians certainly possessed heresiological interests. Edward Topsell wrote several biblical commentaries and was devoted to ridding England of 'Atheisme, Paganisme and Papisme'.<sup>60</sup> He included Anabaptists amongst 'many accursed sects' who held forth 'detestable opinions' and 'damnable devises'.<sup>61</sup> He even compared 'Romish heretikes' to a variety of early Christian heresies and identified popery with a chameleon which 'poysoned the world' and a scorpion which 'stings'.<sup>62</sup> Though Topsell omitted a discussion of Epiphanius' serpentine sectaries in *The Historie of Serpents*, his heresiological perspective included an urge to restore proper names to things and to project entities out of the words in which they were described. Topsell called *The Historie of Foure-Footed Beasts*, for example, 'a Lexicon' or an 'Onomasticon' and, by compiling the epithets, names and titles for all the animals

<sup>59</sup> Anon, *Physiologus*, xxvi.

<sup>60</sup> Edward Topsell, *The Reward of Religion Delivered in Sundrie Lectures Upon the Booke of Ruth* (1613), \*4r; cf. *ibid.*, *Times Lamentation: or An Exposition on the Prophet Joel, in Sundry Sermons or Meditations* (1599); *ibid.*, *The House-Holder: or, Perfect Man* (1609). Topsell also completed and edited Henry Holland's *The Historie of Adam, or The Foure-Fold State of Man* (1616).

<sup>61</sup> Topsell, *Reward*, \*8r.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, A4r-6r.

therein, he sought 'to restore names of things, and things by their names'.<sup>63</sup> Gesner also had an interest in compiling, comparing and categorising languages for similar purposes.<sup>64</sup> This is precisely the same thinking which many heresiologists shared in order to re-represent heretics through the prism of their names and the language in which they were described. For this reason, it is unsurprising that natural historians and heresiologists shared another distinctive similarity concerning the representation of their respective subjects: the arrangement of knowledge itself so that things could be copiously and evocatively described within the locus of their names.

Natural historians and heresiologists shared the increasingly focused categories of knowledge with which they organised their respective subjects. These categories recalled Pliny's breadth of knowledge rather than Aristotle's depth of scrutiny because they attempted to accumulate within set categories all the knowledge pertaining to a given creature. Gesner divided most of his descriptions of animals, for example, into sections which described different words for a given animal, its regional differences, daily habits, cries and calls, diet, its usefulness as a food source or its medical properties, its literary, poetic and proverbial associations. One historian suggests that Gesner 'was, above all, a humanist rather than a zoologist' since he drew upon such a wide range of literature and expertise to describe the animal kingdom.<sup>65</sup> Aldrovandi and Topsell included similarly copious categories in which accumulated animal lore was organised and analysed. The breadth of these categories, which included collections of literary and emblematic references, meant that animals were allegories and metaphors as well as physical creatures. Often, their creaturely status was obscured by exaggerated characteristics and moral significances imputed by collections of proverbs, compilations of adages and poetic descriptions.<sup>66</sup> The effect of purely taxonomic classification, however, which grew in the seventeenth

<sup>63</sup> Ibid., *The Historie of Foure-Footed Beastes* (1607; [facsimile] Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1973), ¶¶11v, ¶¶13v.

<sup>64</sup> George J. Metcalf, 'The Views of Conrad Gesner on Language', in Liselotte Dieckmann and Erich Hofacker, eds, *Studies in Germanic Languages and Literature: In Memory of Fred O. Notte* (St Louis: Washington University, 1963), pp. 15-26, passim.

<sup>65</sup> F. David Hoeniger, 'How Plants and Animals Were Studied in the Mid-Sixteenth Century', in F. David Hoeniger and John W. Shirley, eds, *Science and the Arts in the Renaissance* (London: Associated University, 1985), pp. 130-48, p. 134, passim.

<sup>66</sup> Ashworth, 'Emblematic Natural History', passim; ibid., 'Natural History and the Emblematic World View', in David C. Lindberg and Robert S. Wiseman, eds, *Reappraisals of the Scientific Revolution* (Cambridge: CUP, 1990), pp. 303-32, pp. 307-17; Wolfgang Harms, 'On Natural History and Emblematics in the Sixteenth Century', in Allan Ellenius, ed., *The Natural Sciences and the Arts: Aspects of Interaction from the Renaissance to the 20th Century* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1985), pp. 67-83, passim.

century, was to draw attention to physical and anatomical descriptions, thereby demythologising the animals described. Joannes Jonston's six volume *Historia Naturalis* was printed in Frankfurt between 1650 and 1653, for example, and omitted animals' proverbial and emblematic significances by reducing the characteristically copious categories of Gesner and Aldrovandi.<sup>67</sup>

In Chapter Three, I drew attention to heresiological classifications of heresy and the use of what Kristen Poole calls 'an organizing matrix' in several heresy-lists.<sup>68</sup> *Heresiography*, for example, divided its description of Anabaptists into several separate categories: their origins, their errors, the confutation of those errors and the assertion of orthodoxy against those errors, the different kinds of Anabaptist, their manner of baptism, the various ways in which they were punished and suppressed, and proofs of their 'audacious boldnesse'.<sup>69</sup> These categories of knowledge were far more focused than Gesner's and omitted metaphorical and emblematic categories whose imaginative potency, of course, was confined to the potent label 'Anabaptist' and the calculated associations which the 'organizing matrix' contrived to unfurl out of it. In this way, heresiology's polemical function was obscured by its inheritance of a descriptive method from natural history. In doing so, heresiology mimicked the ability of early natural history 'to restore names of things', as Topsell wrote, 'and things by their names'.<sup>70</sup> Descriptions were constructed around a given label by virtue of the 'organizing matrix' and this endowed that label with specific dimensions, associations and meanings. In this way, natural history and heresiology were indeed closely related, but it is only recently that a historian has compared the business of a seventeenth-century heresiologist to 'the role of the natural scientist'.<sup>71</sup>

These similarities of method extended to similarities of matter. As a means of vilifying its radical opponents, much seventeenth-century heresiology shared with natural history the urge to describe innumerable kinds of animal. A Familist was considered to be 'a beast that hath no soul' as early as 1578.<sup>72</sup> Animals such as foxes, serpents, wolves, dogs, ravens, frogs, mosquitoes, donkeys, locusts, cicadas,

<sup>67</sup> Ashworth, 'Emblematic World View', pp. 318-324; Keith Thomas, *Man and the Natural World: Changing Attitudes in England 1500-1800* (London: Allen Lane, 1983), pp. 66-70, passim; Foucault, *Order*, pp. 128-65.

<sup>68</sup> Poole, *Radical Religion*, p. 121.

<sup>69</sup> Pagitt, *Heresiography*, 1st edn, pp. 1-43.

<sup>70</sup> Topsell, *Beastes*, ¶¶1v, ¶¶3v.

<sup>71</sup> Poole, *Radical Religion*, p. 119.

<sup>72</sup> Rogers, *Displaying*, Iviv; Thomas, *Natural World*, p. 41.

scorpions, pigs, lions, dragons, hedgehogs, cows, bulls and monkeys had all been compared to heretics by the end of the sixteenth century.<sup>73</sup> Kristen Poole describes how swarms of bees, wasps, hornets, frogs, toads, locusts, serpents, snakes, eels and maggots were all prevalent in anti-heretical writing to convey the disorder and beastliness of the heretical multitude.<sup>74</sup> One must remember, however, that animal metaphors were widely employed in the period and not limited to heresiological writing. Keith Thomas records that lustfulness, dirtiness and nakedness were considered to turn a person into an animal and that Catholics, foreigners, savages, children, young men, women, Red Indians, the Irish, the poor and the insane were all commonly compared to beasts.<sup>75</sup> It is particularly interesting, however, that much heresiology inherited Epiphanian metaphors which coloured and conveyed the sectarian threat according to distinctly bestial characteristics.

As for Epiphanius, the Bible offered a preponderance of bestial metaphors for heresy. One of the most common images employed was that of Samson's foxes, tied tail-to-tail (Judges 15:4-5).<sup>76</sup> Zephaniah Smythe even subtitled his sermon, *The Doome of Heretiques, as A Discovery of Subtle Foxes, Who Were Tyed Tayle to Tayle, and Crept into the Church to Doe Mischiefe*.<sup>77</sup> The foxes which wrecked the vineyard in the Song of Solomon (2:15) were identified by John Vicars as Anabaptists, Antinomians, Independents, Seekers and Libertines. He went on to identify the boars from Psalm 80:13 as Papists and Atheists.<sup>78</sup> Notably, Vicars claimed to have abandoned 'allegorical expressions', preferring instead to call 'a Spade a Spade'.<sup>79</sup> He was suggesting that his metaphors were not rhetorical vitriol, but observations and insights. Just as a spade was a spade, a heretic *was* one of the foxes in Solomon's vineyard. Even more emphatically than Epiphanius, seventeenth-century heresiologists not only identified heretics with beasts, but *as* beasts.

This was not simply because members of the godly read the world through the Bible; rather, early modern heresiology not only used bestial comparisons to communicate the nature of the radical threat, but to communicate the nature of

<sup>73</sup> Bagchi, 'Anatomy of Heresy', p. 270.

<sup>74</sup> Poole, *Radical Religion*, pp. 104-23.

<sup>75</sup> Thomas, *Natural World*, pp. 42-4.

<sup>76</sup> Carter, A2r; Denison, p. 11; Allen, x3r; Vicars, *Schismaticke*, p. 5; Sheppard, *Times*, p. 9; Burton, *Seven Vials*, p. 103; Anon, *Nest*, pp. 1-2.

<sup>77</sup> Smythe, A1'.

<sup>78</sup> Vicars, *Schismaticke*, p. 4.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1.



radicalism itself. Heresiologists cited Epiphanius widely in the mid-seventeenth century though animals were no longer described as heretics according to their bite, sting, claws or pincers, but their wider metaphorical relevance or status as heresiological *topoi*. Thomas Edwards, for example, likened a sectary to 'a Moule, a feeble creature' only because Epiphanius did so.<sup>80</sup> But like Epiphanius, seventeenth-century heresiologists also relied upon natural histories to inform and inspire their comparisons. As one historian writes, '[i]n the early modern period the growing scientific interest in natural history led to a recognition of the physical similarities between humans and other animals' and, in this way, heretics became increasingly bestial.<sup>81</sup> Epiphanius used animal metaphors to familiarise his audience with heresy by identifying heresies with the animals with which his audience was familiar and towards which existed established hostility, revulsion or derision. In the seventeenth century, however, unfamiliar and exotic animals such as elephants and apes were used to demonstrate diverse characteristics and qualities of heretics. This indicates a change in heresiological rationale in which the momentum behind metaphorising was no longer comparative utility, but a projected bestial metamorphosis: specifically, accusations of bestiality characterised sectaries *and* furthered the charges of which they already stood accused. Their bestiality was a purportedly accurate representation of their character or appearance, or a condition of their very being.

Sectaries even sounded like animals. Richard Carter used toads, snakes, adders, serpents, bees, wasps and hornets to convey the sounds of radicals' blasphemous banter.<sup>82</sup> Daniel Featley resorted to Greek drama to describe the babble of Anabaptists. He used frogs to describe Anabaptists whose '*croaking and coaxion*' he acknowledged was descended from Aristophanes' amphibious chorus.<sup>83</sup> He expounded the characteristics of Anabaptists in more detail by using material from natural histories. This permitted an even closer identification of sectaries with beasts.

Not content with comparing heretics to poisonous eels and lampreys, Featley lifted information about a snake known as a *solifuga* from Solinus (rather than Epiphanius) and identified it *as* an Anabaptist.<sup>84</sup> He described it 'shunning the light of Gods Word', as its name would suggest, and remarked upon the serpentine

<sup>80</sup> Edwards, *Gangraena*, I, p. 44; III, p. 146.

<sup>81</sup> Tapper, p. 46.

<sup>82</sup> Carter, p. 15 [13].

<sup>83</sup> Featley, *Dippers Dipt*, 1st edn, p. 227.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, C1<sup>v</sup>, p. 28.

Anabaptist who 'first shewed his shining head, and speckled skin, and thrust out his sting neere the place of my residence' in London.<sup>85</sup> Heretics, as dangerous as snakes, turned into snakes themselves. It is unsurprising that one seventeenth-century character-book corresponded animals and plants to human types.<sup>86</sup> This combined the creaturely variety of a natural history with the moral significance of a heresy-list. This combination certainly played upon the mind of the author, Richard Braithwaite, who also compiled a list of heresies which he conceived as 'a *Treatise of Poysons*' in the same toxicological tradition as Epiphanius.<sup>87</sup> Heretics and beasts were not only threatening, but threatened to turn into hybrid creatures whose bestial characteristics were a condition of their radicalism.

In fact, animals were so closely identified with heretics that their characteristics were used to corroborate and advance commonplace accusations of sectarian antiquity, novelty and stereotypical behaviour. Gesner, for example, suggested that cormorants' droppings provided nutrients for mistletoe. One writer, using a cormorant to represent a Familist, argued that it was a Familist and his doctrinal dung which nourished numerous other mistletoe-like and antiquated heresies.<sup>88</sup> An anonymous pamphleteer called sectaries apes simply because they imitated old ideas.<sup>89</sup> Sects were also accused of novelty and impermanence through bestial metaphors. By comparing heretics to flies and swallows, Thomas Hodges hoped to show that weak, puny heretics would 'soon dwinder, and quickly vanish' without guidance or direction.<sup>90</sup> Daniel Featley referred to the '*mungrell* heresies' which emerged when sectaries congregated like 'the wild beasts in *Africa* meeting at the rivers to drinke'. They would, he suggested, 'engender one with another, and beget strange monsters'.<sup>91</sup> This drew upon Pliny's proverbial description of Africa (which found its way into Erasmus' *Adages*) as, to use Pagitt's words, 'always bringing forth some new thing'.<sup>92</sup> Africa was renowned for producing strange beasts and the Nile in particular was the most potent symbol of her dark fecundity. Edmund Spenser drew upon Ovid to remark upon the '[t]en thousand kindes of creatures'

<sup>85</sup> Ibid., B4v.

<sup>86</sup> Richard Braithwaite, *A Strange Metamorphosis of Man, Transformed into a Wildernesse* (1634), passim.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid., *Mustur* [sic] *Roh*, A2r.

<sup>88</sup> Rogers, *Displaying*, A8r-v.

<sup>89</sup> Anon, *A Breife* [sic] *Description or Character of the Religion and Manners of the Phanatiques in General* (1660), p. 20.

<sup>90</sup> Hodges, pp. 32-3.

<sup>91</sup> Featley, *Dippers Dipt*, 1st edn, p. 30.

<sup>92</sup> Pagitt, *Heresiography*, 1st edn, p. 86, pp. 106-7.

which the Nile's retreating waters left emerging from mud and marsh.<sup>93</sup> Daniel Featley also referred to the Nile. His identification of Anabaptists as 'mungrell' heretics made use of Diodorus Siculus' first-century BC account of 'certain creatures about the shores of the *Nilus* not fully formed...the fish and Serpents in the mud of the *Nilus*, not fully shaped'.<sup>94</sup> This Ovidean imagery of the Nile drew attention to the frightening diversity and incoherence of the heretical milieu as well as its frightening fertility which bred new sects so quickly. This also recalled accusations of sexual promiscuity and the widespread belief that heretical women sometimes begot half-formed, monstrous infants themselves.<sup>95</sup> Such descriptions of heresy developed accusations of heretics' antiquity and novelty and it is unsurprising to find that bestial metaphors were used extensively to characterise other aspects of sectarian behaviour.

Sectaries' vanity, irreligion, violence, hypocrisy and cunning were all conveyed as bestial characteristics. One pamphleteer compared sectaries to peacocks because they paraded their doctrinal plumage in an effort to attract acolytes.<sup>96</sup> Another claimed that 'Priests' were sectaries rather than clerical appointments and described their pride, preaching and spiritual purity by attributing to them a finches' golden feathers, a magpies' chatter, and a wren's meaninglessness.<sup>97</sup> Other metaphors sought to rob heretics of any religious sensibility whatsoever. One heresy-list claimed that 'Persians' (which it suggested was a sect) had 'as much Religion as a Beast' because, like 'Elephants ador[ing] the Moone' in Pliny, they 'bow in *adoration* to the rising Sun'.<sup>98</sup> The same heresy-list described irreligious heathens simply as 'Beast-like' and William Lee claimed in *Heresiography* that a Ranter was but a 'beast' because he was 'uncleane'.<sup>99</sup> Richard Carter compared sectaries to owls, crows and magpies who scratched at the church's eyes to blind her.<sup>100</sup> Drawing upon II Samuel 17:8 and Proverbs 17:12, he claimed that these avian sectaries became bolder and more brutal: they 'fling and throw, pull, teare, and hale, deface and demolish what they please,

<sup>93</sup> Edmund Spenser, *The Faerie Queene*, ed. A. C. Hamilton (London: Longman, 1977; first published 1590 and 1596), I, i, 21.

<sup>94</sup> Featley, *Dippers Dipt*, 1st edn, p. 220.

<sup>95</sup> Baillie, *Dissuasive*, p. 63; Edwards, *Gangraena*, II, p. 5; Anon, *The Ranters Monster* (1652), passim; Lorraine J. Daston and Katharine Park, 'Unnatural Conceptions: The Study of Monsters in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century France and England', *P&P*, 92 (1981), 20-54, passim.

<sup>96</sup> Anon, *Breife [sic] Description*, p. 20.

<sup>97</sup> Anon, *XXXIII Religions*, A2r.

<sup>98</sup> Anon, *29 Sects*, p. 6; cf. Hodges, p. 33 [30].

<sup>99</sup> Anon, *29 Sects*, p. 6; Pagitt, *Heresiography*, 5th edn, p. 143 [145].

<sup>100</sup> Carter, p. 2.

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<sup>99</sup> Anon, *29 Sects*, p. 6; Pagitt, *Heresiography*, 5th edn, p. 143 [145].

<sup>100</sup> Carter, p. 2.

raging like a shee-Beare robbed of her Whelps'.<sup>101</sup> Stephen Denison represented sectarian hypocrisy by not only suggesting that 'truculent Wolves...seeme[d] to be innocent sheepe', but that birds of prey masqueraded as doves and serpents as little worms.<sup>102</sup> Equivocation and dissimulation were often conveyed by comparing a sectary to a cuttle-fish or an octopus (known at the time as a polypus). Edwards drew upon Gregory of Nazianzus, a contemporary of Epiphanius, to compare a sectary who falsely professed orthodoxy to 'the Fish called *Polypus* [which] will be of the colour of that stone to which it cleaves, whether white or black'.<sup>103</sup> The polypus reappeared in John Sedgewick's *Antinomianisme Anatomized* where it was able to muddy water and lurk undetected like a subtle sectary.<sup>104</sup> Drawing upon Pliny and Gesner, Thomas Hodges drew attention to squid-like sectaries who generated their own inky blackness in which to hide.<sup>105</sup> The chameleon was another animal whose ability to hide himself was compared to a sectary's own dissembling deceit and hypocrisy.<sup>106</sup>

Animals used in this manner were not in the toxicological tradition of Epiphanius but, in the words of one contemporary, 'Aesopick and deformed'.<sup>107</sup> Marchamont Nedham called Edward's *Gangraena* 'the second part of *Esop's Fables*' and, although he was suggesting that Edwards' claims were mythical lies, the accusation certainly reminds one of the bestial heresy which characterised so much heresiology and turned so many heretics into beasts.<sup>108</sup> This was because seventeenth-century sectaries were not merely attributed bestial shapes, but bestial characteristics and qualities. Commonplace accusations and stereotypes were communicated through comparisons with animals as if such comparisons furthered an understanding of sectaries because they were themselves bestial. George Fox characterised opponents in a dispute in 1651, for example, as not bestial and canine, but as having 'a dog-like nature' and, again, the 'nature' of a beast.<sup>109</sup> In this way, men suggested that their religious opponents had bestial 'natures'; they were not simply like beasts, but were *essentially* bestial. This bestial essentialism invites a concluding discussion of how taxonomy operated in this context to turn fictionalised, bestial representations of

<sup>101</sup> Ibid., pp. 2-3.

<sup>102</sup> Denison, p. 22.

<sup>103</sup> Edwards, *Reasons*, \*2v.

<sup>104</sup> Sedgewick, p. 6.

<sup>105</sup> Hodges, pp. 24-5.

<sup>106</sup> Denison, ¶1v.

<sup>107</sup> Anon, *Breife [sic] Description*, p. 13.

<sup>108</sup> Nedham, p. 10.

<sup>109</sup> Fox, pp. 65-6.



heretics into, quite literally, bestial heretics. Sectaries were turned into, if not 'Aesopic', certainly mythologised fabrications.

### Crying Wolf: Heresiological Metaphor

If Ephraim Pagitt and, more particularly, wolves have been neglected in the previous discussion it is because they best illustrate how bestial heretics were fabricated and mythologised. At the beginning of the chapter, I remarked that Christ's warning against 'false prophets, which come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves' established the wolf as the most common kind of bestial sectary, particularly in the writings of Ephraim Pagitt. This warning inspired a sermon by Pagitt, *The Mystical Wolfe*, and another by Stephen Denison, the minister of St Katherine Cree, entitled *The White Wolfe*. In both, comparisons between wolves and sectaries were repeatedly made. In these sermons, moreover, lupine *species* were drawn from natural histories and arranged in heresiological taxonomies in order to transform heretics into just another *species* of wolf. Of course, this occurred in the wider context of innumerable accounts of wolfish sectaries. Sectaries were often compared to wolves and these widespread lupine metaphors will be examined before discussing specifically how wolves were used to mythologise heresy and fabricate radicalism.

The identification of sectaries as wolves relied upon a biblical context in which wolves were more than the cunning predators of Matthew 7:15. They were ferocious and warlike (Genesis 49:27), rapacious and bloody (Ezekiel 22:27), the cause of pain and suffering (Acts 20:29); they lurked in the falling darkness of evening when they gathered to hunt (Jeremiah 5:6; Habakkuk 1:8; Zephaniah 3:3). Wolves had all the characteristics of despicable sectaries and were a common representation of the sectarian threat. They had been used to characterise Roman Catholics since the sixteenth century in Protestant beast fables. William Turner, for example, sought to 'make not onely the bishop of Winchester [Stephen Gardiner] a wolfe, but also all the bishops of England wolves with him'.<sup>110</sup> The actual transformation of men into wolves, however, was older than the Bible. Lycaon of Greek myth was transformed

<sup>110</sup> William Turner, *The Huntynge of the Romyshe Wolfe* (Emden, 1555), Biii<sup>v</sup>.

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into a wolf and gave his name to lycanthrope. Romans had considered that men were wolves since Plautus suggested that '*lupus est homo homini*'.<sup>111</sup>

In the seventeenth century, lupine sectaries were common. One writer numbered wolves among a number of stock biblical characters, along with followers of Cain, Balaam and Korah, with whom heretics were commonly identified.<sup>112</sup> When Edwards recalled Isaiah 56:9, writing '*All the beasts of the field, yea, the beasts of the forest come to devoure*', he added that those beasts were 'Hereticks and Schismaticks...resembled to wolves'.<sup>113</sup> Instances such as these not only illustrate the identification of sectaries with wolves, but the frequency of such comparisons. Both examples assume the existence of a wider heresiological context in which wolfish sectaries were common metaphorical inhabitants.

This was certainly the case in Pagitt's heresiology which frequently compared sectaries with wolves. He observed that 'some irreligious persons...have Wolfe-like devoured their pastours' as if, rather like wolves, people themselves had done the devouring.<sup>114</sup> He conflated the wicked with wolves when he exclaimed that '[t]he Wolves that were wont to lye in the woods, are come into our Sheepe-fold, and roare in the holy Congregations'.<sup>115</sup> St Edmund the King became a sheep-fold, its parishioners sheep, Pagitt their shepherd and the roaring sectaries wolves. 'Wolvish Papists' were guilty of 'Wolvish cruelty' with a reflexive wolfishness which emphasised their lupine nature.<sup>116</sup> Pagitt even described how a wolf stealthily catches and quietly kills a sheep to substantiate his claim that sectaries 'come...to you, not as enemies but as friends, insinuating themselves into you, as Councillors under the colour of giving good counsell, they seduce'.<sup>117</sup> The surprising use of a wolf's observed hunting strategy to support accusations of sectarian conduct suggests that heresiology and natural history shared a significantly close relationship and that wolves and sectaries were examined in relation to one another more systematically than metaphors ordinarily permitted.

<sup>111</sup> Plautus, *Asinaria*, ed. F. Bertini, 2 vols (Geneva: Institutio di Filologia Classica e Medioevale, 1968), I, l. 495.

<sup>112</sup> Henry Spelman, *A Protestants Account of his Orthodox Holding in Matters of Religion, at this Present Time in Difference in the Church* (Cambridge, 1642), p. 44.

<sup>113</sup> Edwards, *Gangraena*, II, pp. 198-9.

<sup>114</sup> Pagitt, *Christianographie*, 3rd edn, I, p. 183.

<sup>115</sup> Ibid., *Heresiography*, 1st edn, p. 41; cf. ibid., *Wolfe*, p. 8.

<sup>116</sup> Ibid., *Wolfe*, p. 22.

<sup>117</sup> Ibid., p. 13.

This occurred in *The Mystical Wolfe* in which Pagitt undertook a sustained comparison between sectaries and wolves to argue that 'as Wolves are to the Sheep, so are false Prophets to Christs flock'.<sup>118</sup> His account of several correspondences, however, had the effect of identifying wolves *as* sectaries. Both were venomous: 'the biting of a Wolfe is venomous, like the biting of a mad Dog, making them that are bitten by them, mad: so false Prophets venome men, causing them to goe out of their wits'.<sup>119</sup> Indeed, 'no poyson [was] so dangerous to the body, as false Doctrine to the soule'.<sup>120</sup> Like wolves, false prophets were cunning, killing their prey through 'craft' rather than 'might'. Just as wolves were 'dull-sighted in the day...so false Prophets are very accute and sharpe witted to defend their errors; but very dull and blinde to see the truth'. False prophets had a natural aptitude for error and, likewise, wolves were 'quick-sighted in the night'. Pagitt cited various authorities to corroborate other claims. Heretics were 'noxious' and, from Plutarch, Pagitt remarked that garments made of wolf-skin 'prove odious, being lousie, and breeding vermine upon him that weareth it'.<sup>121</sup> From Aristotle, Pagitt revealed that wolves 'play with little children', sometimes making them howl and causing them to be chained up.<sup>122</sup> Therefore, and quite literally Pagitt would have had his readers believe, heretics robbed men and women of their humanity and turned them into animals. Heretics themselves certainly turned into wolves.

The title of *The Mystical Wolfe* is instructive because it was in this sermon that Pagitt established his use of lupine metaphors. 'Mystical' recalls 'the mystery of iniquity', by which, the Bible reads, the 'Wicked [will] be revealed, whom the Lord shall consume with the spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy with the brightness of his coming' (II Thessalonians 2:7-8). Indeed, 'mystery' was written upon the forehead of the iniquitous Whore of Babylon (Revelation 17:5). The notion that a 'mystery' is something which is revealed with utter veracity was also rooted in the Bible, and especially the Pauline epistles.<sup>123</sup> The Trinity, the Incarnation, His synthesis of human and divine natures and His union with the Christian Church were all called 'mysteries' which, upon revelation, were unquestionable truths. Sectaries themselves presented

<sup>118</sup> Ibid., p. 20.

<sup>119</sup> Ibid., p. 20.

<sup>120</sup> Ibid., p. 29.

<sup>121</sup> Ibid., p. 20.

<sup>122</sup> Ibid., p. 21.

<sup>123</sup> Cf. I Corinthians 2:7, 4:1, 13:2, 14:2, 15:51; Ephesians 1:9, 3:3, 4, 9, 5:32, 6:19.

their ideas as such 'mysteries', according to Thomas Hodges, in order to escape the logic of demonstration and argument: 'What they speak is mystical, rather to be received by an implicate faith, and adored with admiration, then pryed into by reason'.<sup>124</sup> Hodges went on to cite an apocryphal piece of Anselm which accused heretics of purposefully cultivating their reputation for mysticism in order to disguise their iniquity.<sup>125</sup> This inheritance had a specific impact upon the title of *The Mystical Wolfe* as well as a pamphlet by Benjamin Bourne which railed against Familists as the '*Mysticall Antichrist*'.<sup>126</sup> Pagitt also sought to persuade his congregation and readership that sectaries were wolves 'by an implicate faith' rather than by inviting them to pry into the logic of the comparison 'by reason'. He implied that his sermon was a revelation, expanding upon Christ's identification of 'false prophets' as 'ravening wolves' in Matthew 7:15, which proved that far deeper correspondences existed between wolves and sectaries. Indeed, he was suggesting that they were one and the same. Sectaries were unquestionably wolves and, by the same token, marked as heretical, evil, iniquitous.

It is also significant that Pagitt rapidly changed the title of this sermon, *The Mystical Wolfe*, to *The Tryall of Trueth*. He did so because even in an age which understood plagiarism very loosely, he was lifting much material from Stephen Denison's *The White Wolfe* which was also a sermon on Matthew 7:15. As we have seen, this sermon was first published in 1627 but reprinted in 1641 to coincide with the many heresy-lists which appeared that year. Not only did its enumeration of Familists influence Pagitt in *Heresiography* (as described in the last chapter), but its account of wolves provided the momentum and inspiration for much of *The Mystical Wolfe*. This is not to take issue with Pagitt's originality. His significance here lies in his adoption and distillation of existing heresiological commonplaces to exemplify the transformation of heretics into animals and fabricate radicalism. Pagitt drew upon a tradition of biblical hostility to wolves and relied upon natural histories to add documentary detail. His use of Plutarch and Aristotle has already been noted, but his use of Denison's *The White Wolfe* illustrates a more subtle process at work. In this, lupine metaphors were mythologised by using material from natural histories but

<sup>124</sup> Hodges, p. 22.

<sup>125</sup> Ibid., p. 22. The passage, absent from Migne, is 'Desiderant ut iniquitas eorum sit mystica, religionis nomine palliata' which can be translated as 'They desired that their iniquity is mystical, clothed in the name of religion'.

<sup>126</sup> Benjamin Bourne, *The Description and Confutation of Mysticall Antichrist, the Familists* (1646), B1r.



became more concrete representations of heresy by being arranged taxonomically. An account of this requires a description of Denison's wolves before examining Pagitt's use of them.

In *The White Wolfe*, Denison distinguished between two kinds of wolf *genus*: 'naturall Wolves and mysticall Wolves'. He admitted that 'naturall Wolves' no longer bred in England, 'but concerning mysticall Wolves, it is quite otherwise: in that sense, *Multi sunt Lupi in Anglia*, we have many wolves in England'.<sup>127</sup> The *species* in this *genus* were 'Popish Wolves', 'Arminian Wolves', 'Anabaptisticall Wolves', 'Rosey-crosse-Wolves' and 'Familisticall Wolves'.<sup>128</sup> The numerous kinds of Familist, described in the previous chapter, were types of 'Familisticall' wolf. John Etherington, Denison's specific opponent, was considered to be a Familist and therefore 'a Woolfe in a Sheepes-skinne'.<sup>129</sup> This image drew upon Matthew 7:15 and Denison included a woodcut of such a wolf at the beginning of his printed sermon.<sup>130</sup> He included another woodcut of a wolf 'in his owne skinne', taken from Edward Topsell's *The Historie of Foure-Footed Beasts*, to accompany his account of the various 'mysticall Wolves'.<sup>131</sup> They form a pair, the wolf in a sheepskin purportedly as unmetaphorical as Topsell's slaving canine.

Like Gesner, Denison also made much of Hebrew and Greek etymologies to show that wolves were by nature ravenous.<sup>132</sup> More interestingly, Denison constructed his own taxonomy for further proof and listed several kinds of wolf which were renowned for their violent gluttony: from Pliny, he described *Cervarii* which 'are insatiable, they can never bee sufficed or have enough'; from Gesner, he described the *Circus* which is 'alwaies hungrie'; and from Aristotle, he observed that wolves were so insatiable that they even devoured earth.<sup>133</sup> Listing wolves in a heresy-list encouraged their identification as heretics.

<sup>127</sup> Denison, p. 37.

<sup>128</sup> Ibid., pp. 37-8.

<sup>129</sup> Ibid., A3r.

<sup>130</sup> Ibid., ¶2v.

<sup>131</sup> Ibid., p. 36; cf. Topsell, *Beastes*, p. 734. Peter Lake, in his recent study of Stephen Denison's dispute with John Etherington, includes both woodcuts but omits any mention of Topsell, see Lake, *Boxmaker's Revenge*, pp. 6-7.

<sup>132</sup> Denison, p. 28, p. 32.

<sup>133</sup> Ibid., p. 32. *Cervarii* were in fact lynxes, so called because they were originally thought to be born between wolves and deer (*cervarius* means 'relating to deer'), which they also resembled (when young) and commonly hunted, see Pliny, *Natural History*, trans. H. Rackham, 10 vols (London: William Heinemann, 1967), III, bk. VIII, xxxiv, 84; Topsell, *Beastes*, pp. 488-95; Conrad Gesner, *Historia Animalium*, 4 vols (Tigur, 1551), I, pp. 769-75. The *Circus* may have been a species of wolf which inhabited Monte Circeo on the south-western Italian coast, though Gesner's favoured adjective for this area was *circaeus*.

Denison referred to John Etherington as 'this mysticall Wolfe' and suggested that 'he may fitly be compared to the Wolfe *Glanos*...which seekes to prey upon men: or to the Wolfe *Circus* which in the cold time when the Mountaines are covered with snow, will impudently enter into the very Citie to seeke for his prey'.<sup>134</sup> Aristotle's *Glanos* (which was in fact a hyena) was a foul beast which not only hunted men, but had a mane like that of a horse, retched to get its victim's attention, and dug up graves to feast on human flesh.<sup>135</sup> By accusing Etherington of preying upon men and impudently entering cities, Denison was possibly punning on 'prey' and 'pray' to allude to his opponent's hypocritical piety and unwanted presence in London. More significantly, Denison was characterising his opponent according to lupine *taxa*. Through such detailed comparisons, sectaries became far more wolfish than their descriptions as simply 'Anabaptisticall Wolves' or 'Familisticall Wolves' suggested. By ascribing the characteristics of a particular kind of wolf to a sectary, Denison's comparison became far more substantial and moved towards the fabrication of a distinctly lupine form of radicalism.

Pagitt's significance lies in his use and elaboration of these categories to represent heretics quite literally as wolves. Like Denison, he distinguished between 'mysticall wolves' and real wolves which did not exist in England.<sup>136</sup> But when he observed '(with grieve of heart) grievous Wolves broken in among us', voracious wolves and marauding sectaries merged together.<sup>137</sup> He listed Denison's *Cervari*, *Glanos*, and *Circus* (misspelled *Cirucs*), as well as Ethiopian wolves which had 'Maines like Lions' and Indian wolves which, frighteningly, had 'three rowes of teeth, feet like a Lion, a face like a man, and a voyce like a trumpet, [a] Taile like a scorpion, swift as a Hart'.<sup>138</sup> Pagitt's leonine Ethiopian wolf was, in Topsell, a *Crocuta* which is the offspring of either a hyena and a lioness or a dog and a wolf.<sup>139</sup> His Indian wolf was Topsell's mantichore, a 'beast or rather Monster', which Topsell considered to be a kind of hyena.<sup>140</sup> Pagitt followed very closely Topsell's description

<sup>134</sup> Denison, p. 40.

<sup>135</sup> Aristotle, *Historia Animalium*, trans. A. L. Peck, in Aristotle, *Aristotle*, eds E. Capps, T. E. Page, L. A. Post, W. H. D. Rouse and E. H. Warrington, 23 vols (London: William Heinemann, 1960-95), XI, vii (viii), 594a, ll. 30-3.

<sup>136</sup> Pagitt, *Wolfe*, A2r, p. 23.

<sup>137</sup> *Ibid.*, A2r.

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 23.

<sup>139</sup> Topsell, *Beastes*, p. 440, p. 745.

<sup>140</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 442.

which Topsell himself had translated out of Gesner's Latin.<sup>141</sup> By describing these wolves so closely alongside sectaries or 'mysticall' wolves, Pagitt turned the non-existent threat of real wolves into the very immediate threat of the sects; by describing sectaries as lupine *taxa*, he identified them as terrifyingly real kinds<sup>of</sup> wolf. In this way, 'mysticall' wolves were a wolf *genus*; and within that *genus*, it was uncertain whether Cervari, Glanos, Circus, Indian and Ethiopian wolves were *species* of sectary or wolf. Pagitt's use of taxonomy to produce these lupine sectaries requires explanation by referring not to Pagitt, but to the operation of metaphor, particularly in the context of taxonomy.

Conal Condren observes 'that "radical" religious groups in the Civil War period were identified through, or projected from patterns of metaphorical practice'.<sup>142</sup> Bestial metaphors drew not only upon the Bible but documentary accounts and natural histories. This early 'scientific' character was an important part of this practice because it allowed metaphors themselves to be understood as 'scientific'. This is maintained by Earl R. MacCormac who suggests that scientific language is ridden with metaphors. He argues that scientific conceptions are themselves metaphors, rather like Kuhnian paradigms, which allow scientists to conceptualise the physical, psychological and quantum worlds they study. It is my contention that bestial metaphors, exemplified by the lupine variety, functioned as such conceptual models in seventeenth-century heresiology: they were so prevalent that they shaped and manipulated perceptions of the sectarian milieu. The following discussion, in showing how metaphors were capable of fabricating radicalism, reiterates and builds upon the wider point, made in Chapter Three, that the categories and definitions with which heresies were identified became part of the environment they described.

MacCormac describes two kinds of metaphor: an ordinary, suggestive metaphor in which a word is used with a new meaning and a 'root-metaphor' which conveys 'the basic assumption underlying the way in which we describe the entire enterprise of science or religion'.<sup>143</sup> A root-metaphor can become a myth since it is the transformation of the figurative into the purportedly factual.<sup>144</sup> Wolves were a

<sup>141</sup> Gesner, I, p. 631.

<sup>142</sup> Condren, p. 71.

<sup>143</sup> Earl R. MacCormac, *Metaphor and Myth in Science and Religion* (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University, 1976), xii.

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid.*, xiii.

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<sup>144</sup> *Ibid.*, xiii.

root-metaphor in the religious discourse of the early modern period because the Bible had established them as a type of animal which represented false prophets and seducing teachers so unequivocally. Seventeenth-century heresiology, however, turned this metaphor into what pretended to be an observation of fact by not only repeating it as a heresiological commonplace, but by using early natural histories and taxonomy to qualify it according to what appeared to be early 'scientific' criteria. Heretics, in short, were often conceived and examined as wolves rather than men because men became wolves. MacCormac's own account of metaphor clarifies this process:

Consider the metaphor 'Man is a wolf'. Here, 'wolf' may also take on the characteristics of human behaviour so that when we see wolves in zoos or in the wilderness, we think of them as possessing certain qualities [because we] must consider the ways in which it might be possible for men to be *like* wolves and wolves to be *like* men...if the juxtaposition of referents in a metaphor rested upon no likeness at all, then the metaphor would not just be strange, it would be unintelligible.<sup>145</sup>

According to MacCormac, this relies upon the 'tension theory' of metaphor in which the novel juxtaposition of terms exploits a negotiable similarity that avoids both absurd unlikeness and a recognition of immediate sameness. The negotiation of similarity produces a tension between referents which makes the metaphor what it is. The loss of such tension, however, robs the metaphor of its power and it becomes 'a part of ordinary discourse', a metaphor which has become an assumption about the nature of reality.<sup>146</sup> Colin Murray Turbayne calls this an 'extended or sustained' metaphor, a 'model'.<sup>147</sup> Both MacCormac and Turbayne suggest that this has happened to the comparison of men with wolves though the comparison itself remains imaginatively suggestive. Taxonomy turns this model into a demonstrably representational process.

Turbayne reminds us that, according to Aristotle, a metaphor is 'the application of a word that belongs to another thing: either from genus to species,

<sup>145</sup> Ibid., pp. 74-5.

<sup>146</sup> Ibid., p. 81.



species to genus, species to species, or by analogy'.<sup>148</sup> This permits him to suggest that to call a man a wolf is the same as calling a timber-wolf or a Tasmanian wolf a wolf. This is because men, timber-wolves and Tasmanian wolves are all endowed with 'the defining properties of "wolf"' and should therefore share 'the denotation of wolf'.<sup>149</sup> Indeed, one heresiologist described sectaries alongside owls, bats and moles as 'the kind of *Animals* which curse the day, cannot abide the light, because their eyes are weak, their works are dark, and both minds and manners are deprived'.<sup>150</sup> This located sectaries as a *kind* of animal within a loosely-defined *genus* of sectary-like creatures. A taxonomic equivalence was struck between owls, bats, moles and sectaries which reflects the one established by Turbayne between men, timber-wolves and Tasmanian wolves. One is compelled to consider whether sectaries, within this taxonomic equivalence, could be conceived quite literally as *kinds* of animal. Turbayne writes:

He who says 'Man is a wolf', metaphorically speaking, is aware of the duality of senses and merely makes believe that man is a wolf. But he who is taken in by the metaphor is unaware and believes man is a wolf. For him the class of wolves is enlarged by the addition of another sub-class. For him it is not a case of different senses of the word 'wolf'; it is a case merely of different sorts of wolves.<sup>151</sup>

Man's transformation into a wolf relied upon the multiplication of *taxa* so that he turned into a category rather than a comparison. In this way, the numerous kinds of wolf in Pagitt's list of Cervari, Glanos, Circus, Ethiopian and Indian wolves were identified with men so that, by virtue of their similarity to wolfish types, men themselves became members of a larger lupine *genus*. At the end of *The Mystical Wolfe*, Pagitt wrote:

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<sup>147</sup> Colin Murray Turbayne, *The Myth of Metaphor*, rev. ed. (Columbia, South Carolina: University of South Carolina, 1970; first published 1962), p. 19.

<sup>148</sup> Aristotle, *Poetics*, trans. Stephen Halliwell, in Aristotle, XXIII, 1457b, ll. 7-9.

<sup>149</sup> Turbayne, p. 14.

<sup>150</sup> Anon, *Breife* [sic] *Description*, p. 44.

<sup>151</sup> Turbayne, p. 23.

[Y]ou have heard also what these false Prophets are, viz., lying Prophets, falsifying Gods Word [and] they come unsent, without any calling, in Sheepes cloathing, counterfeiting holinesse, pretending Scripture; being indeed ravening Wolves.<sup>152</sup>

There was no longer a division between false prophets and ravening wolves in sheep's clothing. The words of Matthew 7:15 had become expressed within a taxonomic grid of shared qualities and similarities which turned wolfishness into less a metaphor than an insight into the radicalism of lupine sectaries.

If such sectaries appear absurd, it is because they were fabulous rather than factual creations. It matters little that they were not really wolves because they were mythical creations rather than accurate descriptions. Indeed, heresiology purposefully mythologised its wolfish heretics when it turned them into cognitive models with which to conceptualise and comprehend the radical milieu it described. MacCormac's summary of this process is instructive:

Myth develops when we forget that explanations are hypothetical, not when we remember that they are founded upon a root-metaphor. Propagandists are successful in creating myths for others only when the masses forget that their slogans and views are the constructions of men seeking to influence them and believe that this is the way things really are. The propagandist, by his very act of creation, knows his explanation to be a fabrication.<sup>153</sup>

The godly polemicists of the 1640s certainly anticipated the political propagandists of today. Their fabrication of radicalism, their transformation of the fictional into the factual, was mythopoeic. Rather than view myth as an active component of ritualistic and social practice, a substantive belief system in itself or an index of a society's cultural sophistication, MacCormac sees mythology as a monstrous metaphor which goes beyond the realm of the figurative and infects reality. One forgets, in short, that a metaphor is a metaphor. In 1614, for example, a pamphlet reported that many believed that 'a monstrous serpent' was rampaging through St Leonard's Forest near

<sup>152</sup> Pagitt, *Wolfe*, p. 38.

<sup>153</sup> MacCormac, p. 129.

Horsham in Sussex.<sup>154</sup> Only the author suggested that it was not a 'litterall' dragon and the pamphlet itself played upon the anxieties and fears of its readership.<sup>155</sup>

Pagitt himself described 'the manner of seducers' by copying a passage from Denison's *The White Wolfe* and suggesting that 'our Saviour may seem here to allude to the Wolfe in the Fable, concerning whom the Mythologist speaketh':

A Wolfe on a time, putting on a sheepes skin, immingled himselfe amongst the flock, and so every day strangled one of the sheep: which when the shepheard perceived, hee took the Wolfe and hung him upon a high Tree: at which, the other shepheards wondred, being ignorant of the cause, what he meant to be so cruell, to hang up a silly harmesse [sic] sheep: he answered, His skin you see is a sheeps skin, but his workes are the workes of a Wolfe.<sup>156</sup>

This mythologised Christ's metaphor in Matthew 7:15 by mingling it with Aesop's fable. In Aesop, the wolf was hung from a tree for killing sheep despite having been trained as a sheep-dog and at first feigning obedience.<sup>157</sup> It is Matthew 7:15 in which the wolves wore sheepskins and Denison (followed by Pagitt) readily conflated biblical and classical authorities. This illustrates the extent to which heretics were not only turned into wolves, but into mythologised caricatures. At the same time, it shows that the accurate citation of mythological and biblical sources was subordinated to the larger task of constructing a popular and polemically effective lupine model of sectarianism. This mythologising propaganda suggests that lupine sectaries were relatively conceivable sectarian incarnations whose fabrication was less literary fantasy than the creation of a sectarian mythology with which to describe, dehumanise and denounce heresy. Like any myth or piece of propaganda, bestial heretics were a fabrication which people could believe.

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<sup>154</sup> A. R., *True and Wonderfull: A Discourse Relating a Strange and Monstrous Serpent (or Dragon) Lately Discovered, and Yet Living, to the Great Annoyance and Divers Slaughters Both of Men and Cattell, by his Strong and Violent Poyson* (1614), B4<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>155</sup> Ibid., C1<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>156</sup> Pagitt, *Wolfe*, p. 15; cf. Denison, p. 21.

<sup>157</sup> Aesop, *The Complete Fables*, trans. Olivia and Robert Temple (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1998), p. 232.

Seventeenth-century heresiology inherited Epiphanius' description of heretics as frightening and dangerous beasts. Natural histories were plundered for increasing detail and ever more varied creatures with which to identify religious radicals. Bestial sectaries and lycanthropic, lupine heretics became not only caricatures, but accurate representations of the sectarian threat. For the godly, these caricatures provided insights into sectaries' characteristics and behaviour rather than merely demonised images of heretics to despise. Taxonomy played a crucial role in this process because it transformed comparisons of heretics with wolves into statements of synonymity by generating, for example, lupine *taxa* which subsumed otherwise human sectaries. In this way, seventeenth-century heresiology proclaimed many bestial heretics in order to colour and convey the threatening nature of sectaries; more specifically, it turned heretics into a group whose perceived character supported charges of bestial conduct, brutality and malice because they were considered to be bestial themselves. When Pagitt cried wolf, his exclamation was not only prompted by fear for his flock, but his own calculated fabrication of radicalism.

## Conclusion

If this thesis describes heretics <sup>who</sup> which did not exist, it certainly explores what people believed. I have suggested that a very real sectarian presence was elaborated and exaggerated in the seventeenth century in order to create a polemically advantageous image of religious radicalism to which various accusations of heresy might be effectively attached. The fabrication of polemically useful images has been the focus of this thesis and I hope to have shown, in various ways, how they were presented as 'truths'. The image of the sectary was manipulated so that sectarianism was perceived to be denominational and distinct though it was really more amorphous and anonymous. There is rarely smoke without fire and heresiology, to extend the metaphor, persuaded its readers that there was a raging inferno rather than a naked flame.

Ephraim Pagitt's work, specifically *The Mystical Wolfe* and *Heresiography*, exemplified heresiological writing in the seventeenth century. Pagitt himself typified the seventeenth-century heresiologist: a scholar, estranged from the political turmoil around him, who conspicuously adopted a tradition of patristic heresiology. This tradition, drawn upon by many others, provided a discernible methodology, primarily concerning listing and naming, with which to describe heresy. By the seventeenth century, heresiology involved both the creation of a nomenclature and, in an effort to describe what it named, an inherited body of knowledge which extended from the Old Testament to early modern natural histories. These ultimately conspired with taxonomic forms of representation to validate and objectify the exaggerations and inventions which heresiology perpetuated. But in many ways, identifying heresiology's use of a disciplinary inheritance which included patristic heresy-lists, taxonomy, nomenclature, universal language theory and natural history is the inevitable result of reading heresiology in its wider intellectual and literary contexts; Pagitt's significance lies in his exemplification of these characteristics and not in his originality or distinction.

The remarkable power of heresiology is that this inheritance formed a potent means of mythologising heretics by turning the individuals who, for example, populated the New Prison, Maiden Lane, into denominationally-distinct and doctrinally-diverse sectaries. Patristic heresy-lists were, in the words of one historian,



guilty of 'mythological elaboration', but the pamphlets and heresy-lists of the 1640s certainly introduced a new tone of calculated fabrication.<sup>1</sup> In 1641, one pamphleteer remarked upon the 'roving fancies' of 'ementitious pamphlets, out of [whose] inexhaust mintage...the whole City is embroydred with nothing but incredible lyes'.<sup>2</sup> Such 'ementitious' anti-sectarianism advanced to the point of parody the strategies and arguments of more weighty texts because radicalism was fabricated in substantial polemics as well as amidst the spurious claims of pamphlets and broadsides. Patrick Collinson suggests that an examination of even puritanism must be preceded by 'some iconoclastic demythologising' of 'Puritan' and 'Anti-Puritan' which he considers to be 'two almost mythical constructs'.<sup>3</sup> Michael Finlayson agrees that puritanism was a 'fabrication' and a 'metaphor', in much the same way as bestial heretics were metaphors, whose function was to mythologise the phenomena they purportedly described.<sup>4</sup>

J. C. Davis' contentious view of Ranters points towards the excesses of his argument and the limits of my own. Davis calls the Ranters no more than 'a mythic projection', contrived by a small number of printers, publishers and hack journalists with a political agenda and a predilection for character books; by overly sensitive clerics who reacted hysterically against the sectarian threat; by Quakers and Baptists who sought to control their own numbers by generating a sectarian pariah which would require the prescription and enforcement of congregational discipline; and by polemicists who coloured the Ranters' image with numerous other sectarian caricatures in order to explore 'the issues of toleration and the logic and limits of sectarianism'.<sup>5</sup> Contrary to Davis, I believe that sectaries, such as the Ranters, *did* exist as a core out of which larger-than-life heretics emerged in heresy-lists and pamphlets. I have not, however, pretended to unearth a glimmering historical truth about religious radicalism. This is because the reality of the radicals' existence, for those that existed alongside them, was often manufactured, perpetuated, but nonetheless *believed*, as Davis rightly points out, by their opponents. Another historian very recently comments: 'Rumours and fictitious allegations were more believable than fact because they were reflections of the reader's own innate system of

<sup>1</sup> Henderson, p. 137.

<sup>2</sup> John Bond, *The Poets Knavery Discovered in their Lying Pamphlets* (1641), A2r.

<sup>3</sup> Collinson, *The Puritan Character*, p. 3, p. 23.

<sup>4</sup> Finlayson, *Historians*, p. 6, p. 67.

<sup>5</sup> Davis, *Fear, Myth and History*, p. 126, pp. 107-21.

values and fears rather than the true but confusing occurrences in a world gone awry'.<sup>6</sup>

Several factors explain why perceptions and beliefs in early modern England were so successfully manipulated. Sectarian labels, categories, accusations, descriptions and observations were often inherited from reputable and authoritative sources such as Church Fathers and continental reformers. Not only were the same descriptions and charges in innumerable texts, but they appeared consistent; that they appeared consistent and verifiable suggested that heresiology was an empirical, descriptive discipline. By embracing certain methodological, social and discursive practices, moreover, heresiologists presented their discipline as an early 'science'. In short, falsehoods, fictions and fables were packaged as if they were fact, as if they were true.

One must also return to the linguistic nature of this study and recall that language creates the categories through which people see the world; myth, through language, creates the explanations with which people understand it. Heresiology created a polemically advantageous sectarian myth and an observable, nameable spectrum of sectarian diversity. Whereas natural history described the world as it was known, heresiology described the world to polemical advantage. Keith Thomas explains why heresiologists invented categories and labels:

[A]ll observation of the natural world involves the use of mental categories with which we, the observers, classify and order the otherwise incomprehensible mass of phenomena around us; and it is notorious that, once these categories have been learned, it is very difficult for us to see the world in any other way. The prevailing system of classification takes possession of us, shaping our perception and thereby our behaviour.<sup>7</sup>

This is true. In the seventeenth century, Englishmen enjoyed absolute religious toleration, albeit temporally, only in Maryland where words such as heretic, schismatic, idolater, puritan, Independent, Presbyterian, Popish, priest, Jesuit, Jesuited Papist, Lutheran, Calvinist, Anabaptist, Brownist, Antinomian, Barrowist, Roundhead, Separatist and 'any other name or terme in a reproachful manner relating

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<sup>6</sup> Cressy, *Miracles*, p. 14.

to matter of religion' were declared illegal.<sup>8</sup> Oliver Cromwell, William Dell and John Saltmarsh all suggested that similar terms be banned in England.<sup>9</sup> They provided the categories which enabled divisive religious debate; their prohibition was intended to heal denominational divides and encourage religious toleration.

Such terms manufactured a religious spectrum which had little basis in reality. They robbed a sectarian vocabulary of any physical content by transforming individual sectaries into sectarian types. William Lamont quotes F. Scott Fitzgerald to prove the point: 'Begin with an individual and before you know it you find that you have created a type; begin with a type, and you find you have created nothing'.<sup>10</sup> Indeed, a pamphlet entitled *The Ranters Reasons Resolved to Nothing* resolved to nought not only the Ranters' reasons but, in effect, the Ranters as well. In addition to setting out a typology of madness, of which the Ranters were but a part, the author, one Philip Highway, constructed a convincingly coherent theology of 'blasphemie' from two Ranter texts, *A Justification of the Mad Crew* and *A Single Eye All Light, No Darkness*. This effectively turned Ranters into what Highway considered their notion of sin to be: namely, 'an imagenarie thing'.<sup>11</sup> By constructing a damning Ranter theology, which Ranters allegedly believed, the Ranters themselves were reduced to pawns in a polemical game, 'imagenarie' radicals. More frequently, textual enumeration was the promenade upon which heretics paraded as little more than labels. It is therefore unsurprising that sectaries themselves sought to ban the words in which heresy was couched as a way of ending their persecution which was, it seems, as linguistic as it was legal.

A world brimful with heretics was the product of 'Puritan', 'Presbyterian' and 'Reformed' anxieties being played out as English society began its gradual secularisation. Religious absolutism was giving way to religious toleration. That such a verdict still relies upon religious labels such as 'Puritan' and 'Presbyterian', however, reminds us that religious discussion still relies upon words which are as helplessly divisive as they are specific. This is the linguistic foundation upon which heresiology stood since the urge to decry, describe and denounce heresy required

<sup>7</sup> Thomas, *Natural World*, p. 52.

<sup>8</sup> Clancy, p. 248.

<sup>9</sup> Leo F. Solt, *Saints in Arms: Puritanism and Democracy in Cromwell's Army* (London: OUP, 1959), p. 53; J. C. Davis, 'Against Formality', p. 265.

<sup>10</sup> Lamont, *Historical Controversy*, p. 3.

<sup>11</sup> Philip Highway, *The Ranters Reasons Resolved to Nothing, or, The Fustification Instead of the Justification of the Mad Crew* (1651), pp. 2-4, p. 23, p. 19.

heretics to be clearly and specifically discerned; they could only be ranged and targeted through language.

Seventeenth-century heresiologists would have been horrified at the sympathising, coffee-table heresy-lists which exist three hundred and fifty years after they railed against religious radicalism.<sup>12</sup> But they would have been impressed at the staying-power of the rumours, opinions and myths which their hysteria produced and perpetuated. The radical threat in the mid-seventeenth century can indeed be considered one of those 'cultural narratives of hysteria' among which, in the modern age, Elaine Showalter numbers gulf war syndrome, satanic ritual abuse and alien abduction.<sup>13</sup> She suggests that today's revolution in the media and telecommunications makes these 'popular psychopathologies' so much more prevalent.<sup>14</sup> Yet what she calls 'hysterics' remain marginalised, eccentric and stigmatised by society. Accounts of the radical threat in the seventeenth century, on the other hand, received political sponsorship, popular support and enjoyed widespread belief. So if this dissertation has described heretics which did not really exist in the seventeenth century, it also argues the power and potency of early modern print and oral culture to make them or, in other words, to fabricate radicalism.

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<sup>12</sup> Cf. Leonard George, *The Encyclopaedia of Heresies and Heretics* (London: Robson Books, 1995); Chas S. Clifton, *Encyclopaedia of Heresies and Heretics* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 1992).

<sup>13</sup> Elaine Showalter, *Hystories: Hysterical Epidemics and Modern Culture* (London: Picador, 1997), p. 5, passim.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 24.

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